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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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POINTED REMARKS

PIERCING PERNICIOUS TEACHINGS OF CAPITALISM.

Capitalist "Directing Genius"—Legislation in Theory and in Practice—Decency Discouraged, Indecency Promoted—"Individualism" and Capitalist Bossism.

One J. W. Hall appears in the columns of the Worcester, Mass., "Telegram" with a letter in which he claims that "brains and push" is what the workingman needs. Mr. Hall chooses his season badly. At this season, when the "brains" of the capitalist is being exhibited as the crass ignorance which leads society to panics, and this "push" is exhibited as a virtue leading to jail or to suicide—at such a season such a theory is badly chosen.

Swift and sharp did the axe work in the hands of Judge Phillips of the Cuyahoga County, O., Court of Common Pleas upon the neck of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' Union. The Union was held to be "a Trust," "in restraint of trade," the $110,000 in its treasury was ordered to be distributed among its members, and the Union dissolved. Quite otherwise did Rockefeller's Trust fare. For it the axe had a softer side.

"What is legislation?" asked Ambassador Bryce in his speech before the annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association, and he answered saying: "An effort of the people to promote their common welfare." Abbe Sieyes, just before the French Revolution, asked: "What is the Third Estate?" and then answered: "Nothing!" He then asked the second question: "What should it be?" And the answer was: "Everything." Ambassador Bryce has much to learn from Abbe Sieyes. The Ambassador should have asked and answered: "What is legislation? The effort of the capitalist class to entrench itself behind the physical powers that will enable it to despotize the people." "What should legislation be?" "The people's effort to promote their common welfare." Ambassador Bryce confuses what IS with what SHOULD BE.

A dispatch from Hyeres, France, announces that Mrs. Henry Addison Alexander, the daughter of Gen. Florence of Chicago, left her home in that city in the company of William Graham Blackstone, a London attorney. The dispatch proceeds to say: "Mrs. Alexander is reputed to be wealthy." The last sentence was superfluous.

"Little Egypt," the dancer of Seeley dinner fame, furnishes a bright illustration to Adam Smith's philosophic observation on the economic methods that promote indecency and discourage decency. "Little Egypt" has been gathered to the bosom of Abraham. In the process she left an estate behind. The same is found to be worth $30,000. The indecency of "Little Egypt" was rewarded and thereby encouraged, while the decency of productive labor, being discouraged by wage slavery, renders such a thing as a $30,000 estate, left behind by the wage slave, an absurdity to think of.

The bankers are said to be preparing a new currency bill. Whatever the bill may be, it will be essentially old. It will be the same old corpse embalmed by a new process—but a fœtid corpse still. Capitalist money means a volcano, yawning to engulf the people. And capitalist money, the reflex of capitalist production, can no more reflect popular safety than a crocodile can reflect the shape of a dove.

The Countess von Sturza, of the Hungarian nobility, has been arrested in Dresden for a series of literary swindles which constituted in selling, as her own, works of authors unknown to Germany or Austria. The Countess should now import Joseph H. Choate, the brilliant lawyer-ambassador, to paraphrase his speech to the N. Y. Bar Association, and say for her: "There may be such countesses. I don't believe it."

The $30,000 estate, left behind by "Little Egypt," allows a glimpse of the many more $30,000 that the police must have plucked her of in order to be allowed to be at large. It is only through "Little Egypts" that capital, once concentrated, is at all scattered.

Every experience is said to be valuable to a man. Perhaps the experience of Alfred G. and Reginald C. Vanderbilt, who were snowbound in the recent storm and had to go fourteen hours without food will furnish them a text by which to order further reductions of trainmen's wages. If they, so used to plenty, could stand the fast, how must better should a trainman, always on the verge of starvation, be able to!

On January 21, from his seat on the floor of the House, Representative Champ Clark cried out, pointing at the Republican side of the House: "There are not ten among you who dare stand up and name your choice for President!" The shot went home; but also is a boomerang. It hit not the Republican majority only, it hit also the claim upon which Democrats as well as Republicans stand—the claim that capitalist society is the breeder and guardian of individualism, and that the capitalist is a paragon of individuality. Like master, like man. The politician is the capitalist's man. What amount of individuality there is among these Champ Clark's unanswered challenge proves well.

Socialists should not fail to profit by the spectacle now presented by the warring factions of the Republican and the Democratic parties. Each is protesting his fealty to all that is good under the sun—but what are their actual acts? Deeds, not words, does the hour call for! Clear utterances, not phrases that can be interpreted in a score of different ways! Republicans and Democrats, the political reflexes of capitalist sliminess, may indulge in fly-paper tactics. For that very reason the Socialist, who is a Socialist not for sport or revenue only, must watch closely the conduct of his Rep-Dem adversaries—and deport himself exactly otherwise.

A bomb blew up part of the Italian bank of Pasquale Pati and Sons in this city scattering $40,000 of the display money in the show window. The capitalist class has everything to fear from the working class in ignorance, and everything to dread from the working class when enlightened.

Hungry men in New York blowing up a bank in New York for bread, and hungry men clubbed down by the police in Chicago while parading for bread—such are the supplementary spectacles of the hour.

The Nazarene Church, a Negro place of worship on Compton avenue, Los Angeles, was demolished by a body of white men. The surrounding residents, all of whom are white, disclaim to have had a hand in the affair, but none hides his satisfaction, "all saying they do not want their property to depreciate in value by permitting Negroes to live among them." With property holders, "law," "order" and "religion" are adapted to the exigencies of the purse, not the purse to the demands of law, order and religion.

Having decided to loan to the farmers the sum of $4,000,000, the Canadian Government may soon expect to receive a message from Theodorus Rex that it is false to the best standards of monarchy and is paternalistically making mollycoddles of its farmers. Or is the fact that they are farmer bosses, and not farm workers, sufficient cause and justification?

C. C. Snapp, treasurer of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union No. 1494, has consistently proved his theory concerning the peership of the Capitalist and the labor leader of craft unionism. In these days when capitalists innumerable are found out to have made ducks and drakes of other people's moneys, Snapp followed suit, absconding with $1,200 of the union's funds.

The National and Social Purity Crusade is setting its cap to a difficult job when it attempts the "moral education of boys and girls" by "special literature." The example of the Coreys, the Thaws, the Castellanes, the Schwabs—all of them honored and respected pillars of the family—are much more potent for evil than any special literature can be for good. Wipe out the profligate by wiping out the system which leads and drives to profligacy

"INDIFFERENCE"

The Socialist agitator is very often struck with the apparent indifference of many workingmen when approached by the Socialist propaganda, and often the agitator wrongly concludes that such workingmen are "satisfied with things as they are," that they have no interest in life beyond that of the beast. Such a conclusion is rather a hasty one, and a Socialist, above all others, should not jump too quickly at conclusions.

There is no doubt that many of the working class lack the power of mental concentration. I have often found it difficult to get men to give steady and continuous attention to arguments that I tried to make as plain and interesting as I knew how. By the character of the questions, the nature of the objections, and by the attempts to anticipate one's conclusions, it may readily be seen that, instead of properly directing the mind to the subject brought before it, they go at it in a hop, skip and jump fashion.

The reason, I take it, is that the average workingman has no occasion for cultivating the habit of continuous attention, save that required by the machine or the nature of his job. And, just as his occupation may develop one finger, a hand, arm or leg, so it develops his mind in spots, but it no more exercises the whole thinking faculties than it exercises the whole body.

When you call upon a workingman at his place of abode in the evening don't forget that the din of the machinery and the vibration of the floor still affect him, much the same a man just off the sea continues to "feel" the motion of the ship. In other words, the workingman is never free from the degradation of his exploitation and your ideals may seem altogether unreal and impossible to him. The only real thing he knows is toil or the more vivid reality, the lack of toil.

But do not despair, my propaganda friend—capitalism has been rendering you a better service than you may have thought: Capitalism has killed in the worker the old faiths and the old ideals which in the very nature of things had to go ere you could hope to plant there your newer and higher hopes and aspirations.

Thanks to capitalism the old ideals are dead. Men see the churches defending the class that grinds the faces of the poor, and though such churches may hide behind the Sermon on the Mount and other saying of Jesus, yet when they defend the system that means wretchedness and misery for the many the worker says: "'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' means nothing to them," and church authority ends.

When capitalist newspapers, blowing their own trumpets as "friends of labor" vilify labor, and arouse hostility against strikers by misrepresenting them, another capitalist idol set up in the working class mind topples from its pedestal. The bribery, lying, cheating, stealing and other like features of the capitalist system disgust the working class mind which at bottom is honest and clean.

It is a somewhat sceptical man that you approach. He looks at you with wonderment, not sure that you are "all there," or suspicious that there is something in it for you. Even this doubt is a healthy sign. "Reformers" and other "friends" have, before now, fooled and duped the workers, and that you are not at once received with open arms means that you must prove yourself, and no fault can be found on the score of that requirement.

To you, who have undertaken the sacred task of spreading the light, there is nothing written here that should serve to discourage you. On the contrary, it should nerve you to your work, to your duty. When you look at the problem before you with calm and correct judgment you will come to the conclusion that you must inculcate in the workers new ideals: moral courage, honesty, truth, love of knowledge, and the determination that industrial slavery must end.

Kindle the flame of working class consciousness, and the vested interests, the tradition, the churches and all else that may attempt to stand in the way will be overwhelmed. Upon the militant Socialist depends the future of civilization.

Propagandist.

OUT ON BAIL

YOUNG AND CAMPBELL RELEASED PENDING APPEAL.

Are Told by Magistrate Crutchfield That They Have Right to Speak on Streets, But Must "Move On" When Ordered—Will Hire Hall and Continue Campaign—Richmond Field Ready for Sowing.

Richmond, Va., January 22.—Frank Young and Joseph P. Campbell, national organizers of the Socialist Labor Party, arrested here recently for speaking on the streets, are now out of jail.

Through their counsel, M. L. Spottswood, they were granted bail by Justice Crutchfield in the Police Court this morning, on an appeal from their "peace warrant," and the case was certified in the Hastings Court. Otto Blersch went their security. The two men were accompanied by Blersch and A. B. McCulloch.

Before giving the bail bond the question of "breaking the peace" was considered and defined by Justice Crutchfield.

"You gentlemen have as much right to talk on the streets to citizens as I have," said Crutchfield. "But if we are talking to a party of people and an officer thinks we are blocking traffic and liable to create a disturbance, he has the right to tell us to move on, and if we refuse he has the right to place us under arrest."

In reply to a question by McCulloch, Crutchfield said that men had a perfect right to engage a hall for the purpose of speaking, and that they could not be molested so long as their language was kept "within the bounds of respectability and free from incendiarism."

"Who is to be the judge of this?" asked McCulloch. "Is it to be the officer or the court?"

"The court, of course. If the officer thinks he has the right to arrest, he must prove his case. Otherwise there is nothing upon which to base a conviction."

"Suppose," said McCulloch, 'we should feel disposed to criticise the action of the court in this case, and comment on the law that has placed us in this position, woul[illegible]at be an infringement upon the bond under which we are being placed? Understand, we have no disposition to break any law, but we want our rights defined."

"As I said before, so long as you do not speak in disrespect of any person, do not incite to disorder, do not provoke a disturbance, you have as much right to speak in a hall as a representative of the Democratic or Republican party, or any other political party, and you have the protection of the police. But if you are engaged in talking on the streets and are told to move by the police, you must move."

"That is all we wish to know," said Campbell, "and we thank you." The men then went out of the court room and went to the office of the Chief of Police, where they had a conference with the Chief, who defined their rights as had the police justice.

Campbell and Young, pending the appeal, will probably remain in the neighborhood, carrying on the work. They are anxious and now have a splendid opportunity to dispose of their magnificent stock of Labor News literature. There was talk that they would have to get "license" in order to sell books. If this turns out to be the case, the license will be secured.

As soon as arrangements for a large enough hall can be completed, the two organizers will begin a series of rousing indoor meetings. The field in Richmond is ready for sowing.

A. B. M.

DE LEON ON MALLOCK.

English Falsifier of Marx Triturated and Exposed for a Fraud.

Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, opened the winter course of lectures on Jan. 21, at Maennerchor Hall, 203 East 56th street, with Daniel De Leon's lecture on "Marx on Mallock; or, Facts vs. Fiction."

By using the case of the New York Central and the New Haven Directors arising out of the awful tunnel disaster in which 90 persons were burnt up some sixteen years ago, the lecturer showed that the capitalists do not usefully direct industry, as Mallock claims they do. In this case Justice Van Brunt accepted the plea of Chauncey Depew and the other directors that they were not guilty of violating the State law compelling trains to be heated with steam, because they "were not running the trains, and did not know the law was being violated." "Likewise in the Thaw case. Once old man Thaw was held up as a genius, because he was a millionaire. Now, that young Thaw is in trouble, they are trying to prove both him and the old man insane by heredity. There is not a capitalist institution in the land which is not run by wage slaves from top to bottom. The whole capitalist class could die to-night, and production would go on just the same, or even better, being freed from their incubus." (Great applause.) Many questions were asked and well answered.

SOUP HOUSES IN EL PASO.

El Paso, Tex., January 18.—Following the example of Los Angeles, where there have been established three soup houses to feed 10,000 idle men, the Christian Temperance union has decided to establish a soup house in El Paso to feed the hungry. A committee of the ladies waited upon the council the other morning and asked for financial aid. They were allowed $50 per month for three months from the city

UNEMPLOYED PARADE

WORKERS OF NEW BRITAIN PROTEST AGAINST HARD TIMES.

Marshalled by Organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, 'Five Hundred Unemployed Make Impressive Demonstration—Resolutions of Protest Presented to Mayor.

New Britain, Conn., January 21.—One thousand unemployed men, marshalled by the organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, paraded the streets of the city to-day, visiting the several large factories and bearing aloft a banner which read: "Parade of Hungry People Looking for Help." Lined up on the curbs, watching the demonstration, were several times the number in the parade.

The demonstration was orderly. Stops were made in front of the different factories and a halt made in front of City Hall. No speeches were delivered. Police in plain clothes followed the line over the route of march, and at the police station, the whole of the city's regular police force, augmented by the supernumerary force, were on duty ready for a moment's notice to get out. The police patrol was under harness. There was no call for their gentle services, however.

There was a mass meeting in Calumet hall last evening. The first speaker was a young man. He spoke of the unreasonableness of the capitalists. He said that the 1,000 people about him were hungry and out of work. The law says that we must not steal or become prostitutes, but the speaker said that is what the capitalists are forcing them to become.

Organizer Thompson, of the Industrial Workers of the World, was the next speaker. "It's an organization, membership in which, that makes you 'undesirable citizens,' and I am known as one of the undesirable citizens." Then he spoke on the men slaving themselves in factories until their days of profit are past and then they are thrown out in the street.

BOSTON'S UNEMPLOYED PARADE.

Boston, Jan. 24.—Several hundred unemployed followed by many spectators, appeared in front of the State House yesterday and marching up the steps demanded work. Sergeant-at-Arms Remington went out to meet them and in response to their demands said:

"This is no place for you to apply. If you want employment go to the State Free Employment Bureau. If you need aid go to the Chardon street home. If you do not leave here I shall be obliged to call the police."

At the agency they were informed there was nothing for them to do

ANY ATTEMPT

TO CONSOLIDATE THE WORKERS ON BASIS OF DEPARTMENTAL CRAFT AUTONOMY AND INSINCERE PROFESSIONS MUST FAIL.

An Invitation to Unity Which Shows How the Burrs and Cockles Stick to Those Who Walk in the Byways of Compromise.

[Under the above heading the *Industrial Union Bulletin* publishes an invitation received from the officers of the Western Federation of Miners—Wm. D. Haywood's name among the signers. The invitation is to meet on April 6 in Chicago for the purpose of launching a new, or re-launching the former I. W. W., and the threat is made of using "drastic measures" and, if necessary, issuing charters to other organizations by the W. F. of M. on the ground that "the mining industry is the stepping-stone to civilization"; in other words, placing one craft in overlordship over others in genuine craft-union style.

The answer issued by the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. is a lengthy one; it takes up almost the whole of the issue of January 25 of the *Industrial Bulletin*. The following passages from the answer give the gist and spirit of it:]

"Lofty, no doubt, is the purpose of consolidating the workers against 'the onslaught and aggression of organized capital,' of securing 'the solidarity of the working class,' etc., etc. These are lofty purposes that deserve applause; but how do they square with YOUR call for a NEW Industrial Convention?

"You set the example of schism. You set the anarchist example of secession, even before taking a general vote of either your own subdivision or of the whole I. W. W. You set the deplorable example of ignoring the general vote of the I. W. W., which (even including the peculiar vote taken by your own division), upheld the convention of 1906. You set the disruptive example of leaving unrebuked, and of even approving the fraternal relations of your leading officers with the Chicago Pinkerton sluggers in an endeavor to thwart the will of the majority. With such a record to your credit, how does YOUR present demand for a NEW convention square with your protestation of desiring consolidation? Your record is one of anarchistic disruption; a CALL from YOU for a new convention is but an emphasizing of the principle of disruption. A call for a NEW convention and for the formation of a NEW organization, issuing from such a quarter, and to the tune of 'consolidation,' 'solidarity,' 'unification,' etc., would be grotesque, even if your disruptive conduct had succeeded; in view, however, of the fact, well known to yourselves, that your disruptive tactics failed, and a lusty and growing trunk has remained, the only evidence of I. W. W. organization in the land;—in view of this fact, a call for a NEW convention and for the formation of a NEW organization, coming from such a quarter is worse than grotesque. There is but a step from the tragic to the ridiculous. Such a call, for such a purpose, from such a quarter, is at once laughable and tragic. It is an attempt, however, destined to failure despite all the 'drastic measures' that you threaten, to consecrate, not the order necessary for labor's unification, but to consecrate FIREBRANDISM. Sufficient unto the day is the evil of such a call, from such a source. Fortunately, the firebrand of consecrated disorder—a NEW convention and a NEW organization—will not materialize. The I. W. W. declines to afford the move a chance of success by joining it

"Again:

Lofty is your declaration of 'firm adherence to the principles of industrial unionism.' That also deserves applause; but how does the declaration square with your pretension that your particular industry 'IS THE STEPPING-STONE TO CIVILIZATION'?!?!

"Such a pretension is utterly repulsive to industrialist thought, to industrialist sentiment and to industrialist fact. Important a step though mining was, in the remote ages of the past, to man's march toward civilization, other arts preceded it without which mining never could have been reached. One of these arts, for instance, is the art of pottery—a leading, vital industry in the land today. But leaving ancient history aside, TO-DAY no one particular industry is entitled to or can exercise overlordship over all others; TO-DAY industrialism is not pivoted, can not be pivoted, upon any one or two industries; TO-DAY industrialism is pivoted upon the industrially blended labor of the working class in ALL industries. It is just that very anti-industrialist, in fact, craft-union pretension, now peeping out of your letter, that was the evil genius of your conduct toward the I. W. W. It was that very craft-union spirit of Labor aristocracy over Labor, that caused you to attempt the role of dictator to the other industries represented at the Chicago convention. It was that very craft-union, Labor-dislocating superstition and vanity that caused you 'to withdraw from the game,' imagining you could disrupt the I. W. W. if 'you refused to play.' Your craft pretension is anti-industrialist.

"Grotesque enough is the notion of unrepentant disrupters calling a convention for consolidation: grotesqueness is piled upon grotesqueness by the further notion of craft-union superstition, of craft superiority becoming 'the foundation for a universal industrial labor organization.'

"There is no sense in weeping over the past. Rupture and reconsolidation is the process toward final solidarity in the Labor Movement. We must be united; we will be united. But as corn can not grow out of dragon's teeth, neither can the consolidation of Labor's forces proceed along lines traced by disruptive methods, besides calls that still breathe the offensive breath of craft-unionism. Therefore, we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, we who have resisted disruption, we who have forever cast off the incubus of craft-union superstitions and vanities, and are proud of our industrialist 'fanaticism,' we extend to you fraternal invitation to appoint delegates to confer with us upon the ways and the means by which old wounds may be healed and your organization may once more take its place in our ranks—the equal of all our industrialist divisions and sub-divisions."

The answered is signed

Fred. W. Helsewood.
Thos. J. Cole.
Rudolph Katz.
B. H. Williams.
Wm. Yates.
General Executive Board.
Wm. E. Trautmann, Gen. Sec.-Treas.
Vincent St. John, Ass't. Sec. and Gen. Organizer.
A. S. Edwards, Editor.

GOLDFIELD REPORT.

House Asks Roosevelt to Give Them a Copy.

Washington, January 22.—A resolution was passed by the house to-day requesting the President to submit to Congress a copy of the report of the special commission sent by him to investigate the labor troubles at Goldfield.

Card System Knocked Out in Goldfield.

Goldfield, Nev. Jan. 27.—The Goldfield Mine Operators' Association has been compelled by the miners to discard its attempted card system, which required all employes to sign an agreement renouncing the Western Federation of Miners.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

"ADOPT" SOCIALISM.

British Laborites, in Round-About Way, Stand on Class Struggle.

Hull, England, January 22.—The delegates to the conference of the Labor Party who are holding a session here and yesterday voted down the resolution binding the party to Socialism, to-day passed a motion declaring Socialism to be the definite objective of the party.

Delegates representing over half a million members of the party favored this resolution.

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CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR RUSSIA

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PROF. PAUL MILYUKOV

Professor Paul Milyukov, member of the Third Duma for St. Petersburg, and leader of the Constitutional Democrats of Russia (also known as the Cadets), addressed the Civic Forum, in Carnegie Hall, New York, Tuesday evening, January 14th, on "Constitutional Government for Russia." Professor Milyukov spoke as follows:

Four years ago, when I first came here to address an American audience on Russian affairs, Russia was approaching its political downfall and I tried to unveil some threatening symptoms under the then placid surface of things. On my second trip a year later, I hardly had time to complete the picture by pointing out the urgency of radical reform, political and social. We were already in the rapids of the year 1905—the year of the Russian Revolution. This year brought with it a real downfall of the autocracy, by the well-known Manifesto of October 30th. Some people thought then that the reasonable aim of the movement had already been attained, since Russia thenceforth was to be a modern constitutional state. Others took the event as a new departure in the direction of something larger and unprecedented. But few foresaw that the success achieved was the utmost mark to be recorded by this flood-tide, or that after some few months of surprise and bewilderment, a descending course would set in.

This was our case. The obstacles rose, more and more threatening, until now, after two years of struggle, after two Dumas dissolved, we find ourselves in a sort of political whirlpool. Whether or not a natural outlet will be discovered, whether the flood will follow a quiet course or rush toward new cataclysms, who can foretell?

The party to which I belong, which was the leading party in the first two Dumas, has always kept up to the last moment at the centre of political movement. Some of our enemies consider our policy too radical, while many others find it too moderate. But every one opposed to the policy of the Constitutional Democratic party has found it particularly dangerous for this very reason, that it has kept within the reach of practical possibilities. Precisely for this reason the party was particularly hated and feared by both extreme currents of the Russian movement—by the reactionaries as well as by the revolutionaries. Both extremes appealed to violent methods of struggle and were busy preparing new strokes and counterstrokes, which our party tried to make unnecessary and impossible. And, of course, were the Constitution to strike root in Russia and were quiet to be secured by large social reforms, what hope would remain either for a restoration of autocracy or for a social overthrow? That is why our enemies on both sides have used their most violent means for thwarting the political course which our party has chosen.

As a result, we must admit that our position as mediator is now very much weakened. Other parties much more conservative than ours now play the role of peacemakers. Unfortunately, we cannot find their good services quite disinterested. Nor do we find general reconciliation to be acceptable on their conditions. The order of things they are likely to bring about, we cannot expect to be either Constitutional or Democratic. We believe that the political situation they are going to create will be extremely unstable, being too much of a compromise with the autocracy and the nobility. And as this situation is likely to bring with it new complications and to provoke new struggles, we do not wish to take upon ourselves the responsibility for its consequences. That is why we realists of yesterday preferred now to be classed as visionaries; and having yesterday been described as opportunists, suffer ourselves now to be termed revolutionaries. We have not changed, but things have changed very much all around us. Public opinion is with us. But the masters of the present day do not represent public opinion. The leading majority of the Third Russian Duma is governmental, while the country remains what it was before—in opposition.

Now that you know the general situation and my own place in it, let us enter into our subject. This, of course, cannot be a detailed account of the Russian Revolution. All that I can do is to analyze the moving forces of that revolution and to outline the principal phases through which it has passed. Thus I hope to help you to a clearer sight into the real causes of the origin [illegible] the failure of the Russian movement, and thus to enable you to form [illegible] independent judgment as to its possible outcome.

Of the four consecutive phases which one may distinguish in the course of the events of the last three years, the first two mark an ascending movement, while the last two show a gradual but uninterrupted retrogression. I am tempted to call the first ascending phase of the movement the national phase. For the movement is national in its origin as well as in its manifestations. The revolutionary movement originated in a state of general disaffection which grew acute after the great national disaster of the late war with Japan, and spread widely through all classes of the population. The aim of the movement was one and unified—a current saying in those days was, "We do not want reforms, but *the* Reform, the Constitution." And its action was united. This accounts for the strength of the movement and for the rapid success in the concession conveyed by the Manifesto of October 30.

The second ascending phase begins with the fall of autocracy. This was the negative aim of the movement, common to all of the aggressive parties. As soon as it was reached, the divergence in the positive strivings of yesterday's allies became manifest. The revolutionary elements of the movement, intoxicated by their sudden victory of October 30, persuaded themselves that the world stood on the eve of a social overthrow and that Russia must give the signal for it. Thus the revolutionary movement first differentiated itself from the Constitutional movement. The revolutionary phase, however, was short and proved fatal to the success of the whole movement. It began with the October victory. It came to its close with the December defeat of the armed insurrection at Moscow. Then the ebbing tide was held back for a time by the initial activity of the first Russian Parliamentary representation. Thus the movement, with the opening of the First Duma, entered upon its third stage.

I should sall this third stage "constitutional," from the methods of struggle then tried. How did this phase end? I should be very much pleased to tell you that the employment of Constitutional methods of struggle have not ended yet. But this would not account for the predominant fact by which the fourth phase of the movement was characterized, namely, the increasing use of constitutional methods by the enemies of the movement who now take the offensive. Therefore I call the fourth phase "Counter-Revolutionary." It began with the violent act of the dissolution of the first Duma, and it became particularly emphatic after the "Fundamental Law" was flagrantly violated simultaneously with the dissolution of the second Duma. Will this counter-revolutionary phase end with the fifth phase, that of a restoration of autocracy? Or rather will it bring us back to the third—the Constitutional phase? I do not wish to play the prophet, but one must prepare for the worst, and there is no use in attenuating the danger.

Let me now go a step further in our analysis. After having discriminated political phases, we can discriminate between the leading social groups involved in the movement. With each political phase we shall be able to point out a definite social group that is responsible for it. The first or national phase, is the one exception, characterized as it was by the co-operation of many advanced groups. In fact, with the national phase, social groups just began to organize, and it was public opinion in general, and its leaders, the intellectuals that took the lead. The learned professions and the representatives of local self-government, these were the chief moving forces which promoted the movement and tried to formulate its demands.

In the second or revolutionary phase, the leadership belongs to the Socialists. They acted in the name of the "proletarians," but at the same time they sought for allies in the peasantry and in the army. In the third phase, the Constitutional, the party which I have the honor to represent, played the leading role, the Constitutional Democrats. In the fourth phase, the court, the bureaucracy and the nobility begin to prevail. The court and the nobility in particular have now become the leading forces in an openly avowed movement which is now setting in for the restoration of autocracy.

Now, brief as this analysis is, I believe that it will throw a certain lght upon the delayed outcome of the general movement and explain why it proved—partially and temporarily, let us hope—a failure. The exactness of the analysis one can hardly dispute; and it implies a certain explanation. To make this clear it remains for me to fill in the gaps and to supply the most necessary links between the political movements and the social elements just analyzed.

To repeat, the national movement was distinguished by the fact that the aims of all advanced groups were then held in common. Even groups which in the revolutionary stage went far asunder, contributed together to the success of the initial phase. Thus in its very origin the movement was two-fold. It opened with the famous Petition of Right, formulated on November 22, 1904, by members of the gentry, and two months later it was reinforced by the appearance of the working masses, whom Father Gapon led to the Winter Palace on the Red Sunday, January 22, 1905. The final triumph, the Manifesto of October 30, 1905, was also attained through the indiscriminate co-operation of all the advanced groups. After this first victory, won through a general strike which was quite unprecedented in its extension, the Socialists repeatedly issued orders to the working men to strike again, and each time the attempt was a failure. The one successful strike which won from the government the decisive concession was thus prepared and led in great measure by the intellectuals, and in a quite spontaneous way was supported by various social groups. For example, even the capitalists, without exception, supported their laborers while on strike by paying their wages for the entire time. Private shops and offices voluntarily closed in compliance with the general state of public opinion. Professors forcefully told the government that it must not oppose the meetings held within the walls of the higher institutions of learning. The juries declared themselves unable to pronounce sentences during the days of the strike, while judges and tribunals went on strike with the rest. Even the officials in several State offices stopped their work. In short, it was an outbreak of universal enthusiasm, which proved to the government that further resistance was impossible and brought it to surrender.

Then it was that the revolutionary elements grew self-confident, and went their own way, preparing for a more decisive blow. Much later, the Socialist leaders themselves were brought to a realization that their own estimate of their power was greatly exaggerated, as likewise the amount of real influence which they had over the proletarians. But by this time their optimism had grown boundless. Even the impossible had begun to seem possible—I mean the impossible according to their own doctrine. The element of truth in their argument was that no decisive results could be won from the government in the way of voluntary concessions. And indeed, even such concessions as had been granted on October 30 were by no means voluntary. If proofs are wanted for this assertion, they will be found in the present activities of the government—in its attempt to withdraw as far as possible even the concessions given. But from an exact observation the Socialists drew quite a wrong conclusion, namely, that no concessions of any kind were wanted because the proletarians by themselves were strong enough to bring about an armed insurrection, to form a revolutionary government, and thus to dictate the will of the people. The general strike, according to them, was nothing more than a modest introduction to the real fight. They ordered new strikes after strikes; they organized a nucleus for a revolutionary government—their St. Petersburg Counicl of the Workingmen's delegates, elected by the workingmen in St. Petersburg factories. They even anticipated an actual advent of Socialism as a result of their coming victory, though such a result was in formal contradiction with their own accepted theories. The current doctrine then was that the coming revolution was to be "bourgeois," not Socialistic. But in their growing impatience, the St. Petersburg Socialists were unwilling even to wait for this bourgeois victory for the realization of their minimum programme. The Council of Delegates issued an order on November 11, according to which the eight-hour day was to be introduced in all factories by the workingmen themselves in a revolutionary way.

In vain some few delegates tried to persuade their comrades that it was sheer madness to undertake the struggle with the capitalists before their struggle with autocracy itself had come to a satisfactory ending. The results were, of course, disastrous. The private and government factories, challenged by their workingmen, replied with a series of lockouts. About 100,000 men lost their work, and the threat of a new strike proved ineffective. After two weeks of hopeless resistance, the Council had to surrender and withdraw its order. The government felt encouraged, and took the offensive. On December 9, the President of the Council was arrested. On December 16, one day after the revolutionary Manifesto was launched by the Council, all its members were imprisoned. Then as a last attempt a new strike was proclaimed, to serve as an introduction to the armed insurrection which was to be tried at Moscow. The moment could not have been more badly chosen for the decisive blow. After some ten days of haphazard fighting, the Moscow insurrection was crushed by the guard regiments, and this put a speedy end to all theories of a "permanent" revolution in Russia. Moreover the Moscow defeat served as a signal for a relentless prosecution of the adherents of the revolutionary movement throughout Russia. Special military trains were kept ready and military expeditions were sent far and wide in Russia, especially to the outskirts of the Empire, the Caucasus, the Baltic provinces, and to Siberia, which proved particularly rebellious. The army ransacked the population, with no discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. Whole villages were burned, people were hanged and killed on mere suspicion, contributions were levied on the "internal enemy," and so forth. By means of all these atrocities, what still remained of the revolutionary conflagration was mercilessly stifled. "Peace" was restored on the great roads and in the large cities.

Still the end of the revolutionary movement was not yet. There remained the villages, and the last hopes of the revolutionaries were transferred to these. Of course the outbreaks in the villages were less dramatic and less calculated to attract public attention than revolutionary proceedings by the workingmen, concentrated by tens and hundreds of thousands in the large cities. But the agrarian troubles were far more perilous, and they affected the well-being of the privileged and influential class of landlords more strongly than the strikes of workingmen affected the Russian capitalists. Russia is not yet an industral country, and in spite of all the recent development of Russian industry, the number of workingmen in the factories does not exceed two per cent. of the population, while the peasants constitute eighty-five per cent. of the inhabitants.

The peasants of course were unable to march under the banner of Socialism and obey its orders. But we saw that even among the proletarians the influence of Socialistic societies was not so strong as their leaders presumed it to be. If Socialism had some elements of organization, which lead to success, it also had its theories which brought the movement to ruin. Socialism tried to impart to the Russian peasants organization and theories. A counterpart to the Council of Workingmen Delegates was started under the name of "The Peasants' Union," in order to organize the agrarian outbreak. Socialism tried also to adapt its doctrine to the kind of agrarian terrorism to which Russian peasants were particularly inclined. But here the centralizing influence of Socialism was still weaker; the movement itself was even more spontaneous and depended more upon its own intrinsic causes.

These causes were never lacking in a Russian village, and particularly so after the great emancipation reform of 1861. "More land"—this was for half a century the constant cry of the Russian peasant. He got less than his expectation in the "great reform," receiving only too little from the land he had tilled for his landlord. And for this little he was compelled to pay too much out of his scanty earnings. From that time, as the population went on increasing, the individual land-holdings became still smaller, while indirect taxation grew out of all proportion to the increase in the population. The cry for more land became the cry of distress, the cry of starvation. During the summer months of 1903, an agrarian outbreak took place quite spontaneously. Famine-stricken, the peasants came in crowds to the neighboring landlords. Finding that these possessed much more grain than they needed, while they themselves had nothing to eat, the peasants quietly larried off in their carts what they considered superfluous. In the year 1905, the year of revolution, amidst the general excitement of that time, agrarian troubles broke out again on a much larger scale and took a more violent form. In the autumn of 1905, the trouble spread over more than a third of European Russia—that is, in one hundred and sixty-one districts out of four hundred and thirty-six—sixty-seven per cent. of the area of the country. About two thousand estates and country houses of landlords were burned or ravaged. The entire loss suffered by the landlords at this time was estimated at about fifteen million dollars. "Some one must perish, either we or our landlords," the peasants were heard saying. And the landlords' utterance was no less telling: "If we do not give them new allotments of land, they will cut us down!"

Thus the agrarian question assumed first rank among the burning questions of the day. The different proposals for the solution of this question served thenceforth to differentiate the political groups. After some brief period of hesitation, corresponding to the third political phase, the government sided with the land owners while the opposition took decidedly the side of the peasants. Under such circumstances, the Constitutional Democratic party was founded, which had to play the leading role in the constitutional phase of the movement. This party was composed of the more advanced elements among the Russian gentry and of the more moderate elements among the members of the learned professions. The chief aim of the party was to reconcile the idealistic aspirations of the movement with the practicability of the issues, and thus to inaugurte in Russia a regime of political freedom. The elements of the new party already existed in the previous political organizations; and that is why only a few weeks after its constituent congress, held in the very turmoil of the October strike, the party counted already more than one hundred thousand members. A few comparisons will make clear the political position of the Constitutional Democratic party in the midst of the extremes of the movement:

1. The revolutionary movement aimed at a commonwealth, while the reactionaries wanted to re-establish autocracy. The Constitutional Democratic party decided to fight for a parliamentary rule under a constitutional monarch.

2. The revolutionists wished to have a charter worked out by a constitutional convention and sanctioned by a victorious revolution. The reactionaries did not want any charter at all, or at the worst, a consultative representation granted by the Czar. Our party proposed a charter worked out by the first representative assembly, subject to the approval of the Czar.

3. As to agrarian reform, the revolutionists defended the principle, "The whole land to the whole people," the land to be appropriated by the people themselves, acting through their delegates in local committees, which were to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. The government would permit nothing except a regular sale of land through the medium of the existing Peasant Bank, and at the open market price. Our party proposed a systematic extension of the emanciption reform of 1861, by dealing out additional allotments to the communes from the free (crown) lands, and from the larger private estates, to be expropriated by means of a compulsory sale at a fair price. The price was to be settled by special committees formed of private landowners and representatives of the peasant communes in equal numbers.

This was a very radical progress, but to our view it corresponded thoroughly with the necessities of the moment and the peculiarities of Russian conditions. Of course we did not believe that the government would accept this programme willingly and voluntarily. But one must always remember that this was the moment when the government, in spite of its December victory, was quite cowed by apprehension at the coming agrarian troubles. And they knew but too well that even for the Cadet programme, the peasants were yet to be won.

However, at the same time the government still cherished the hope of being able to palliate discontent and disorder by some demagogic means. Owing to the state of public opinion in the country itself and abroad, considering the necessity of a foreign loan, being conscious of its own weakness after the defeat in the war with Japan, the government did not think of forsaking entirely the principles of national representation. But it expected to organize in the first Duma a subservient ministerial party, formed chiefly of peasants, to whom the electoral law secured a very large representation. And thus the government decided to prepare for the electoral campaign. It even enlarged the franchise by the additional law of December 24, 1905, as a concession to general demands for universal suffrage. The revolutionary elements, on their side, learned nothing. They continued attacking the bourgeoisie furiously as being alone responsible for their December defeat. They tried to discredit and denounce in advance the coming Duma as an assembly of landlords and officials, and in their blindness they proposed to the masses to boycott the impending elections. The Constitutional Democratic party was then the only party in opposition which did its best to win public opinion to the idea of a struggle by parliamentary means. Great was the disappointment of the government and the astonishment of the revolutionists when the electoral returns gave a prevailing part to the Constitutional Democrats in the First Russian Duma.

The government then hastily took measures of precaution against the "revolutionary" assembly. A foreign loan of two and a quarter milliards of francs set the government free from immediate dependence on the national representatives. A series of "temporary" laws were hurriedly published in order to bring into legal limits the "civil liberties" promised by the Manifesto. And last but not least, this period of what was called in Russia "quick-fire gun" legislation, was crowned with a most important declaration. A few days before the opening of the session, a sort of charter or "fundamental law" was published, which put as narrow limits as possible to the legislative powers of the Duma. These laws were not to be changed except by the initiative of the Czar. And yet even though thus muzzled, the national representatives held the government in a state of constant fear and bewilderment, or else of malicious expectation. The ministry remained inactive and the Chamber was left to itself, particularly after it answered the ministerial declaration by a vote of dissent. The government was compelled to decide between a dissolution and a ministerial change. A dissolution was then still considered as fraught with every sort of danger. That is why, in its extreme embarrassment, the government thought for an instant of regular co-operation with the majority in the Duma. One of the high dignitaries who was intrusted with the preliminary negotiations, told me openly what their motives were for proposing to call a Cadet ministry to power. "When a house is on fire," this gentleman said, "one is obliged to choose between leaping from the fifth story at the risk of a broken leg, and the peril of being burned alive."

I am inclined to think that this argument did not appear to the Czar conclusive. The following considerations may likewise have determined the government to try a dissolution instead of "a leap from the fifth story": in the first place, the Cadets (or Constitutional Democrats), whom the government regarded for a while as leaders of the whole movement, proved unable to control the "revolution," and even in the Duma did not always command a majority. There was another important group in the Duma, the so-called Group of Toil, which became very popular among the peasants, owing to its revolutionary programme of land nationalization. The activity of this group in the Duma and outside it rekindled revolutionary hopes for the attainment of power. The revolutionists now completely changed their minds as to the part to be played by the Duma in the Russian revolution. After having discredited the Duma as "bourgeois" and quite powerless, they now wanted it to take possession of the executive power. The Cadets found themselves in an exceedingly complex position. On the one hand, they had to fight for a responsible ministry in order to establish a normal influence on the part of the Duma over the executive power. On the other hand, they had to hold in check every attempt to appropriate the executive functions by the Duma itself. Of course this was enough to paralyze any great measure of exertion. But the chief reasons for the government to abstain from any co-operation with the Cadets was the agrarian programme, which frightened the nobility. Here again the Cadets had to debate between the government, which did not wish to decide for the principle of compulsory sale, and the extremists, who proposed the pure spoliation of landlords to the great satisfaction of the inexperienced masses. Finally the government committed itself to the unconstitutional step of publishing an announcement to the people by which the legislative plans of the Duma were repudiated in advance. The Duma tried to reply, insisting on the fundamental principle of compulsory sale and inviting the population—the latter point being opposed by the Group of Toil—to remain quiet and await patiently the results of the Duma's legislation. Upon this attempt to address the population, the Duma was dissolved and the address was never published. The leading majority replied by the famous Viborg Manifesto, proclaiming the principle of passive resistance.

The fears of the government ran high at the moment of this declaration. For some few days one dreaded military outbreaks and revolutionary dictators at Tsarkoe Selo. One spoke even of a foreign fleet to appear at the mouth of the Neva. A circular letter of the Premier anticipated serious disorders in the interior. Once more all this only showed that the government itself greatly exaggerated the forces of the organized revolutionary movement. The few outbreaks that really followed the dissolution were easily stifled. The government then gradually turned to another extreme, or rather to its habitual mistake. It began again to underrate the amount of political disaffection which had become endemic in the Russian masses. The reactionary forces lifted up their heads and the "counter-revolutionary phase" set in.

In fact, the government never gave up its resistance to the movement, and it never tried to change its usual methods of administration. The "liberties" granted by the Manifesto were never regularly used. Many of the provinces of Russia (in 1906, three-quarters of them) were administered by exceptional law and this gave a legal pretext for not enacting the constitutional liberties. The general evil from which Russia

(Continued on page 3.)

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CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR RUSSIA

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PROF. PAUL MILYUKOV

(Continued from page [illegible]

always suffered—arbitrariness in administration and non-observance of law—greatly increased in the state of civil war which practically prevailed in Russia after the Manifesto of October 30. By long practice of arbitrariness, certain habits were formed which made adaptation possible. But after the Manifesto, private considerations of individual officials took the place of an established routine. The country was divided into two hostile camps, between which no compromise was possible. High-handed deeds of petty officials were formally encouraged and approved by their superiors. The feeling of general unsafety increased immensely under these conditions and the existing misrule became largely responsible for that state of anarchy and terror for which Russia now suffers. To quote some striking instances: In the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, one hundred and thirty-four death sentences were pronounced in Russia, on the average five sentences a year. In the two years following the Manifesto, the number of criminals sentenced to death (almost without exception for political offences) rose to the enormous total of two thousand seven hundred and seventeen, of whom one thousand seven hundred and eighty were executed. The whole number of persons condemned for political offences during these two years was eighteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four, while formerly it had not exceeded one thousand a year, and the number for 1904—about four thousand—was considered as quite exceptional.

Out of the eighteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four condemned, one thousand one hundred and fourteen criminals belong to a class which is rarely considered as criminal; they were directors of newspapers and periodicals, who tried to make use of the Freedom of the Press proclaimed by the Manifesto. Nine hundred and thirty-eight newspapers and periodicals were stopped forever in the same period of time. Public meetings — another "liberty" granted by the Manifesto—are practically permitted by the police only during the electoral campaign and almost exclusively in large cities. The right of forming unions and societies, which make the thrd "liberty" of the Manifesto, can be of service only for such organizations as enjoy the protection of the government. Registration is regularly refused to organizations which are suspected of opposition, on most futile pretexts. Not satisfied with the prosecution of such associations, the government recently began a systematic prosetion of the duly registered and legally existing professional unions. In short, any one who would tell you that Russia really enjoys civil liberties granted by the Manifesto, would advance a lie. The truth is that only those liberties were and are permitted which the government was and is powerless to forbid; and such liberties are often used without any legal restraint, while a regular and law-abiding practice of civil liberties is nearly always refused legal permission.

Thus, under the new regme of national representation, the executive power tried to remain what it had always been before; and it never thought of changing its former methods of administration. And as long as the present misrule lasts, it is almost impossible to the legislative power to do its proper work.

The first Duma was forced to spend much of its time in useless exertion to stop this evil in the only legal way by interpellations on the subject of all the numberless mischiefs done by the Home Office. About three hundred and eighty interpellations were presented by the members during the hundred days of the existence of the first Duma. The reply of the ministers was always the same: everything is being done according to the existing law. Very soon it became clear that unless the ministers were made really responsible to the national representative assembly, and unless the system of administration by exceptional laws was abolished, no redress of administrative abuses was possible for the Duma. That is why the second Duma made a very moderate use of its right of interpellation, not because it turned a deaf ear to the sufferings of the people, but because it knew the inefficiency of its defence.

When we say, then, that the government took the offensive and that a "counter-revolutionary" phase set in, we certainly mean something new and still stronger than mere enforcing of the old methods of administration, which were never stopped. The new feature is that new means and facilities given by the regime of political freedom, are being used as a weapon against this very regime. The government, it is true, proclaimed itself above all parties, thus trying to set its autocratic system in opposition to party politics, essential to parliamentary rule. But under the disguise of more elevated political maxims it only tried to organize its own political party—that of the autocracy. For this purpose the government invited all elements to unite which were likely to defend the "old, holy Russia," orthodox and autocratic.

A more fatal blow to the very idea of that "old, holy Russia" could hardly have been struck, than by trying this truly crucial experiment. Only two years ago, were not the high ideals of a "little Father" of Russia, the holy Synod, the credulous, bigoted, ignorant Russian peasant, supporting the edifice of the Omnipotent Bureaucracy—was not all this rubbish given out for the benefit of foreign readers, as the actual "truth about Russia"? And in Russia herself, who could pretend to know the real number of "Old Believers," ready to support the ancient political system? Now the partisans of autocracy are counted by the interested party itself, for the benefit of the whole civilized world, and everybody can judge for himself, who they are and how many.

The illusion of an omnipotent Bureaucracy dwindles at once to something insignificant. The "red tape," by its very essence, can rarely come to real power. It may form a powerful machinery, but if not greased and directed from outside, the machinery remains inactive. In its professional quality, bureaucracy necessarily possesses a certain standard of intelligence, and, in spite of all its routine, it is not necessarily averse to all reform. When bureaucracy is left to itself, in the periods of stagnation it uses its intelligence for self-criticism and becomes skeptical and cynical. Many writers on Russia were astonished to find these peculiar features under the official surface of the Russian civil service. Russian bureaucracy—at least in its higher stages and to a certain extent—has grown liberal for the obvious reason that nobody knew better than it did, all the drawbacks of official prosperity.

I trust that you will not take these words for a defence of bureaucracy as a system of government. Bureaucracy is but an engine which no modern state can do without. But the force and the spirit must be brought to this engine from outside. All I want to impress on you is that the responsibility for the spirit now pervading Russian bureaucracy must be laid at another door. The real moving forces of the present "counter-revolutionary" phase are the court and the nobility. The attempts they are now making for a new organization of self-defence have but little in common with the regular work done by the bureaucratic machine. As I have just said, they turn for a new experiment to the building of political parties and to interfering with political elections. These are new means through whch they try to perpetuate, under the new order of things, their former predominance.

We can trace back the origin of reactionary organizations to the very beginnings of political liberty in Russia. Some of you may still remember a very expressive comparison used by Mr. Stead, between what he called a "beautiful picture" drawn by his Imperial Majesty in his October Manifesto, and the same Manifesto blackened on the very next day by the brutal "brush" of General Trepoff. General Trepoff, in his quality of chief of the Russian police, suffered the so-called "patriotic" disorders and pogroms to take place in numerous towns in Russia, where they were organized, with the evident connivance of the local authorities, as counter-demonstrations against the Czar's Manifesto. Mr. Stead's mistake was only in thinking of General Trepoff's "brush" as something incidental to the "beautiful picture." A movement which, within a week's time, carried with it three thousand victims killed outright, and ten thousand wounded and maimed, evidently testifies to a certain organization behind the scenes. Certain secret societies, organized by reactionary leaders and well-known to the police, have existed since the spring of 1905. Their avowed aim has been to defend autocracy in the name of "patriotism." The elements of which local groups were formed belonged to the most abject and ignorant part of the mob in towns and cities, but the leading inspiration came from persons connected with the Court, and several members of the movement were known to belong to the Court. Favored by such patronage, some few active propagandists succeeded in uniting local reactionary groups into one "union." The central organization took the presumptuous name of the "Russian People," or, to distinguish themselves from the depraved part of Russia, the "True-Russians." The fundamental conception was that the Russian revolution was forged by Jews and foreigners, while no genuine Russian would sympathize with it. All "True-Russians" were invited to join the only party of the Russian people—which was in itself a negation of party politics and an adequate embodiment of the "True-Russian" idea of a state in which all powers belong to the sovereign, while nothing but "opinion" can belong to the people. This was, of course, only the theoretical side, so to say, the sign-board of the movement. The practical side of it can be fully illustrated by the reign of terror inaugurated by the "True-Russian" mob in Odessa and in some other Russian cities, with the obliging support of the local administration.

Thus supported and protected, the "Union of the Russian People" soon grew over the head of the ministry itself. They openly organized their "fighting rings," to which fire-arms were officially distributed. They summoned local authorities for help and complained loudly against such as did not comply with their demands. On the question of political reliability and patriotism they challenged ministers and Holy Synod, and even reproached the German Kaiser on the ground that he had showed a friendly disposition toward Count Witte, "whom the whole of Russia unanimously considers responsible for all the calamities which befell our country, and who is the chief originator of terrorism and a special protector of the Jews." The most astonishing circumstance was that the Kaiser found it necessary immediately to exculpate himself, declaring that "he never displayed such a disposition toward Mr. Witte as was imputed to him."

Of course, very exceptional reasons were needed to call forth such an exceptional declaration on the part of the Kaiser. The reason was perhaps that the "True-Russians" pretended to enjoy the special protection of the Czar. It reads at the head of their statutes that his Majesty on two occasions, December 22, 1905, and February 16, 1906, personally assured the "Russian People" that his "autocracy remains the same as it had been from ancient times." Twice also an allusion was made by the Czar to the representatives of the "Union"—that "the Sun of Truth would some day shine brightly over Russia": "Unite yourselves, ye Russian People, I count upon you." "With your help I hope to succeed in vanquishing the enemies of Russia."

The last and most explicit of these statements was addressed to the President of the "Union" a few days after the dissolution of the second Duma, as an answer to their thanks for the dissolution. "Let the Union of the Russian People serve as a reliable support I am sure that all true Russians that love their country will unite still closer and, while steadily increasing in number, will help me to attain the peaceful renovation of our holy and great Russia." They say the President of the Cabinet first saw this telegram when it was printed in the official organ of the "True-Russians." He grew furious and made representations to the Emperor, but it was too late; the thing was done. The fault lay, as usual, at the door of a member of the Imperial household. What now was the result of all this high patronage and exceptional favor? The elections repeatedly proved to everybody who cared to know it, that if Russia was great, it was not owing to the "True-Russians." They commanded a ludicrously small vote. No one of them was elected to the first Duma. In the traditional capital of "Holy Russia"—Moscow—there was only one vote cast for the leader of the party, Mr. Gringmoot, and evil tongues asserted it was his own! In the second electoral campaign, many democratic elements were excluded from the vote and every kind of pressure was used in order to get a governmental majority. Yet as a result, the Duma election was Socialistic and Constitutional Democratic. Only sixty-three members out of the whole number of four hundred and sixty-one, called themselves "monarchists," and of these only seven were unswervingly autocratic. Only three voters in every hundred were found to be "True-Russians" in the Russian cities. Then, at the third election, the electoral law was changed and the "True-Russians" were repeatedly invited to "unite" and to "increase their membership," in order to "support" autocracy. What was the new result this time? Out of the five thousand electors for the whole of Russia, only seventy-two belonged to the "Union of Russian People"! Thirty-four of them were made members of the Duma, and yet they were hardly able to increase the number of uncompromising adherents of autocracy to something like sixty, out of four hundred and forty-two. If included with the so-called "monarchists," still they do not form the majority. When, on the occasion of the debates on the address to the Czar they proposed to insert in the text the title "autocratic," they were largely outvoted even by this Duma, the "Duma of the landowners." The governmental Duma, refusing to the Czar the title of "autocrat," which in a certain sense is still used by him according to the existing law—such is the final result, which proves definitely that there are no autocrats in Russia except a very small group of people, whose sincerity and integrity are subject to very serious doubts.

With this conclusion, we come to the last point that needs elucidation. In a country where so astonishly few were to be won for autocratic restoration, what are then the elements which stand for political reaction? The middle classes being largely liberal, the capitalists not averse to a constitution, the bureaucrcy rather indifferent but closely watching the game and ready to serve the winner, who then are decidedly on the side of the government? It is the nobility and the gentry. This class would lose very much from the impending social reform, as much as the autocracy would lose from political reform. In their grave peril, both decaying orders become natural allies. Of course, even here natural interests are very far from being identical. Now and then, autocracy in its struggle for self-preservation, gives up the defence of the nobles' privileges. Thus, half a century ago, by the great Emancipation Act, it destroyed the very foundations of the social authority of nobility. And there was a moment in the present struggle when autocracy seemed ready to endorse the Constitutional Democratic program of the compulsory sale of land on the ground that this measure, if done at all, shall be done by the grace of the Czar.

On the other hand, the nobility would easily be won for a constitution, if only the political reform could be carried out without the social one. It was conspirators among the nobility who, a century ago, first demanded a constitutional charter. Had such a charter been conceded then, it certainly would have had a more or less outspoken aristocratic character. But Russian nobility proved powerless to win a constitution by themselves alone. And now, after new social elements have come to the front, it would be too late, it would be impossible, to separate political from social reform. The new order of things must necessarily be at once constitutional and democratic.

According to the differences just stated, the parts played by autocracy and nobility in their alliance were unlike, and it was the nobility that got the better of it. While the exertions of the autocracy proved fruitless, the nobility, with much less of ostentation, achieved far more positive results. They likewise started a private organization, under the name of the "Council of the United Nobility." But the political activity of this "Council" did not awaken much attention at the beginning, and was even purposely kept half secret. The "Council" did not care for any open propaganda; it preferred to use its connections at court, and with them as its intermediary, to act directly upon the Czar. This policy proved successful. The "Council" has played a decisive part in the all-important events of the last two years. Nearly all the demands of the nobles are satisfied by the Government. It was owing to their instance that a special kind of court-martial was organized bp Mr. Stolypin, after the dissolution of the first Duma. The second Duma succeeded in abolishing these abominable courts, but they are now re-established in a new form which has made them independent of the legislative power of the present Duma. The same "Council of the United Nobility" urged the Czar to introduce a special police service for the defence of the landlords and their estates. This new army of watchmen was immediately organized at great expense to the treasury. Of course, agrarian troubles did not make it impossible for the landlords to dwell on their estates. It is common now to hear of country houses transformed into veritable castles, manned with armed forces hired from Caucasian warrior tribes, to protect the noble homes. On some estates searchlights are actually used at night to disclose the invisible foes who come to burn the house or even to blow up its inhabitants.

Naturally such tension cannot last indefinitely. Therefore the landlords insist upon a thorough change in the whole agrarian policy of the government. And here again the "Council" has gained a complete triumph. For many years the policy of the government has consisted in keeping the peasantry quite apart from the other social orders. The "tax-payers" were to be preserved in a state of absolute separation from the "lords"; and their whole course of life, their standards and habits, their views of property, family and law, were to be peculiar to themselves. The results, as we have seen them, proved disastrous for the landlords themselves. So the nobles came to realize that it was a source of continuous danger to preserve in their near neighborhood the isolated existence of agrarian savages. And the "Council of Nobility," not satisfied with endorsing the liberal cry for the equalization of peasants with the other social groups, decided to change abruptly the very foundation of their social existence. The primitive agrarian collectivism of the peasant communes was now made responsible for all social and agrarian troubles. The nobles wished this collectivism changed to a regime of private property. And the government, in compliance with their wishes, is now starting a new agrarian policy which will doubtless revolutionize the masses more effectively than anything else, because it provokes the social struggle of the rich and the poor in its most venomous form. Of course the attention of the peasants will thus be drawn from the landlords' estates to their own internal disputes.

But the new policy was intended to take the place of the agrarian programme proposed by the opposition. In order to win for it national representation, the entire composition of the Duma was to be changed. This became now the chief object of the reactionary clique.

The "Council of Nobility" worked out a scheme which is now in process of being completely executed by the ministry. The Duma was to be dissolved, on the pretext of its "revolutionary" disposition. A new electoral lw was then to be published, securing the majority of representation for the landowners. Then a new Duma was to be summoned on the principle of the new franchise.

This scheme was quite ready after the dissolution of the first Duma. But Mr. Stolypin was not yet to be won for the abolition of the existing franchise, because it was guaranteed by the "Fundamental Law" and could not be changed without the consent of the Duma. It was then decided, as a first step, to change only those parts of the Law which could be altered by means of an "authentic" explanation of the Law by the Senate. Measures were also taken to influence the elections, the government being sure of having the upper hand. To the general astonishment the [illegible] with a representation much more [illegible] than to the first one. About [illegible] hundred members belonged to Socialistic groups, some one hundred were Constitutional Democrats, while no more than a hundred took sides on the governmental side. Then the "Union of the Russian People" came to the rescue. They began at once a campaign against the "rebellious" Duma; and though now even the extreme parties were much more moderate in their opposition, the government decided to dissolve the second Duma as soon as the electoral law was ready in the Home Office. Even to take precautions was scorned at this time, and no effort was made to preserve simply the external show of legality. The Duma was dissolved upon demand for extradition of all Socialist democratic members, even before it had time to give any answer. Simultaneously with the dissolution, the new electoral law of June 20, 1907, was published, and thus the "Fundamental Law was openly violated for the benefit of the nobles. According to the new franchise, about thirty thousand large proprietors received the right to elect the majority of the third Duma. Practically no more than nineteen thousand came to the polls, and they chose for the electoral colleges more than half of the electors for the whole of Russia: 2,618 out of 5,160. The remaining 2,542 might belong entirely to the opposition, the majority was in advance assured to the large landowners. Thus there is no exaggeration in saying that the majority of the present Duma is elected by 19,000 proprietors of the larger landed estates. They control 300 and odd members, while only 100 to 150 members represent large democratic masses and belong to the opposition. Some of them, as, for instance, the St. Petersburg delegates, are chosen by a larger vote (20,000 each) than all the three hundred members of the majority.

The change of the Electoral Law and the composition of the new Duma are, of course, the most brilliant acquisitions of the "United Nobility." The national representation is now at last brought into an artificial harmony with the interests of the ruling classes. But now that this result is achieved, what can be their reason for objection to the principle of national representation? Is it not much better to be independent of the good will of the Czar for protection, while enjoying at the same time a legal share in legislation and in the control of finance? And, on the other hand, why should autocracy insist upon an immediate and formal restoration, as long as it keeps in its power the "obedient" Duma?

As a result, we now witness a process of mutual accomodation between the autocracy and the landed gentry. The government consents to withdraw or to postpone the project for a democratic extension of the franchise in local self-government, and is now ready to leave this local franchise in the happy possession of the same ruling classes which now form the majority of the national representation. It is also ready to start a new agrarian policy, according to the wishes of the landowners. On the other hand, the nobles do not pretend to dispute in principle the autocratic rights and privileges. They are quite ready to admit, in theory, that the "historical power" of the Czar remains what it ever was, and that "the Czar preserves his free-will" in dealing with the "Fundamental Law" of the Empire, as he dealt with it on June 20, 1907, to their great benefit.

A kind of political equilibrium is certainly attained. The immediate danger that the national representation is to be abolished entirely is now averted. And this is the consoling feature in the situation. But is this equilibrium stable? Is the collision of class interests awakened by the revolution now over, and a "peaceful renovation" of Russia likely to begin with the third Duma? After all we have said, we cannot answer these questions in a positive way.

If any conclusion may be drawn from our preceding analysis, it must be this: The struggle for a constitution became a violent class struggle, with all its embitterment and mutual hatred. Great masses arose to the consciousness of the real cause of their social misery, and have learned to know who are their real friends and enemies. If the "revolution" in Russia has lost something of its external dramatic character, it is not because the movement has been obliterated, but because it now strikes much deeper root in the lower social strata. The real and the terrible dramatic sense of the events which may still unroll before your eyes, ladies and gentlemen, does not confine itself to the rise and fall of certain "heroes" and great personages, whose fate you may follow with interest. And it is not exhausted by some appalling statistics of people shot or hanged, houses burnt, servants of the Czar blown up or assassinated, conspiracies discovered and the like. The interest of the struggle lies much deeper. The social composition of the Future Russia is now at stake. The fate of centuries to come is now being determined. And this explains why the masses, silent and mute as they may appear, put all their heart, all their hope, into the issue of the present movement, and why the movement cannot end until, in one way or in another, its main problems are settled.

And what are the forms which try to hold it in check? The alliance of the two decaying political powers for their own self-defence cannot obstruct the royal, historical road the nation is following. The childish explanation of the movement, as initiated and fostered by a foreign or anti-Russian intrigue, cannot do away with its deeper causes. And the foolish idea that the peasants of our communes can be changed at once into private proprietors can only cause new ferment in our villages, honeycombed with poverty and famine as they are. In short, wherever we turn or look, we only meet with new trouble to come, nowhere with any hope for conciliation and social peace.

That, I am afraid, is not the message you expected from me. I would be much happier myself if I could answer your wish for information with words of good hope and with the glad tidings that quiet and security have returned to Russia. But I am here to tell you the truth.

What do I want from you in exchange? As soon as I left for America, official newspapers in Russia began telling the lie that I was coming to this country in order to get money for my party. This, as you know, is their way of discrediting everything and everybody connected with the movement for Freedom in Russia. I need not refute them. But perhaps I did really come here for some kind of help. Anybody acquainted with the large liberality which is practised here for everything that is humanely good, would not be shocked or surprised by the supposition, and why not? Every foreigner who comes here to this "Sweet Land of Liberty" is supposed to want from her infinitely more than he can offer to her on his part. Well, then, I agree, ladies and gentlemen, that I really want from you something very precious and of very great moment for my country. I am wooing here for your human sympathy; sympathy with all the enormous pain and suffering of the poor and down-trodden in my country; sympathy with every noble exertion which seeks to put an end to all this pain and suffering. And what can I give you back for it? Nothing, ladies and gentlemen, nothing at all except this very feeling of the heart which ennobles everyone who is capable of being affected by it. If I really succeed in arousing in you once more that sympathy for human suffering, well, then, you and I shall have reached the level where no difference in habits, in way of thinking, no varying shades of expression, can prevent us from feeling ourselves an integral part of a great whole, which never can feel quite happy while one of its members is suffering anywhere. I appeal to you in the name of that great whole, humanity; and in doing so, I am quite sure to give you back as much as I receive. At least, for myself, I do not know of anything so apt to elevate one's sentiment and one's intelligence to higher spheres of existence as that feeling which keeps one in touch with new worlds of humanity. That is why I was happy to cross the ocean in order to address you this evening, an occasion which I shall never forget.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1908.

"Numbers without union are powerless,
And union without knowledge is useless."

—ANONYMOUS.

TOTALLY UNNECESSARY.

On Tuesday, January the 20th, the Senate rejected the nomination, submitted by the President, of a pension agent for the State of New Hampshire. Washington dispatches thereupon announced that the President has decided to abolish the office of pension agent in New Hampshire as "totally unnecessary."

Theodore Roosevelt, the enfant terrible of the capitalist class, made the first sensible utterance of his life, official and otherwise, when, after trying to fill the office of pension agent in New Hampshire and failing, he discovered that the same was "totally unnecessary." The observation is the keynote to a song that in all likelihood Theodore Roosevelt will live to hear re-echoed from one end of the country to the other, only amplified to meet the facts in the case. One day the full-throated cry will rise from the breasts of the working class of the land —"All politicians are TOTALLY UNNECESSARY—cancel their offices! All political appointees are TOTALLY UNNECESSARY—away with their berths! All capitalists are TOTALLY UNNECESSARY—put them to work like honest men!"

The fact that the pension agent for New Hampshire was "totally unnecessary" did not dawn upon Theodore Roosevelt until his wishes (shall one say his material needs?) were crossed by the Senate. That instant the scales dropped from the Presidential eyes on the subject of the pension agent for New Hampshire. A vast number of people—but not yet either sufficient in numbers, or properly organized—have long suspected that it is not the pension agent for New Hampshire only who is "totally unnecessary," but the whole corps of officials, together with the idle capitalist class, which requires such officials. Roosevelt's material needs enlightened him as to the pension agent of New Hampshire; the increasing material interests of the masses in the land will proportionately enlighten them. Roosevelt helped the enlightenment along with his declaration.

It has been said that it is all a myth, that story about dying swans singing beautiful songs. It may be a myth as to swans; it is no myth as to a crossed President with a dying term of office.

MODERN "CANDIDES" AND "INGENUS."

There can be no doubt that a broad grin will suffuse the countenance of a good many people who read the account of the proceedings in the Naturalization Bureau when Wenzel Moeth and Michael Laden applied on January 21 for admission to citizenship, and were refused. Nor can there be any doubt that the story is published in the capitalist press as a good joke. But is it a joke?

Moeth and Laden, being asked who make the laws in this country, answered: "Roosefelty and Fairybanks."

The answer was a flash of unconscious genius—that genius that all people who are familiar with the sallies of bright children have more than once been startled with.

The laws of the land are not, directly or indirectly, made by the people. The laws of the land are made by a committee of the capitalist class. In modern society the capitalist class has just one function—the function of despotizing over the working class, and keeping it in subjection. That being the collective work of capitalist government, such work may well be considered typified in some one or two men, who are the incarnation of capitalism. On the same principle that history speaks of the "art of Raffael" meaning not merely what Raffael actualy painted himself, but all the art productions of which he was a type—so likewise is it correct to say that, to-day, the laws are made by Roosevelt and Fairbanks. When Moeth and Laden said the laws were made by "Roosefelty and Fairybanks" they simply uttered with the lisp of childhood a chunk of unsophisticated wisdom not uncommon with bright children.

There is much more than appears on the surface in the biblical passage "of them (children) is the kingdom of heaven." With that keen penetration of his, Voltaire freed the biblical utterance of the theological incrustation that dulls and deadens its deep philosophy. In Voltaire's novels, the heroes he launched forward to criticise society and tear off society's mask of hypocrisy, were not the graduates of Sorbonne, or other "seat of learning." His heroes were unsophisticated by learning; and deliberately he chose for them names indicative of the fact—"Ingenu" (Ingenuous or Frank), "Candide," etc. Voltaire's Candide and Ingenu, traveling over the country, candidly and ingenuously expressed their views of things as things struck them—and every utterance from their unsophisticated minds unerringly hit bull's eye, and tore down some social lie.

Moeth and Laden are the Candide and Ingenu of the occasion. They hit the bull's eye—however unintentionally. It is the "Roosefeltys and Fairybanks" who actually make our laws.

WHAT OF THE CHILDREN?

What of the children? is a question to which various nations, each at its own time, has given its own answer. The worshippers of Moloch used them as food for an idol; the Athenians by the sports of the gymnasium and palaestra, trained them to the maximum of beauty, strength, and intellectuality. The enlightenment of a nation may in great measure be judged by the care it takes of its children.

How, judged by that standard, fares modern capitalist America? A little consideration will show that it ranks below the detested Moloch worshippers. They but killed individual children. Those that were left remained hale and vigorous; those that perished perished quickly and without wanton torture. The modern captalist begins to kill the child before it is born, by the malnutrition and overwork of its parents, and even, perhaps, by forcing the mother to work at a factory sewing machine or a mill loom 12 hours per day. No sooner is the child born than capitalism, in the guise of impoverished food, impure air and cramped quarters, begins the deadly work on it, in its own person. If the child lives to grow up, it may never be allowed to see the inside of a school room. If it escapes this degradation, it goes to school for a short period, usually in such physical condition that it is unable to realize the best results from its study, and is then, before it is ripe for the world, torn loose and thrown into the factory's maw, which it had only temporarily escaped. More children are every year killed by capitalism than the furnaces of Moloch ever claimed; and those that are left are robbed of the heritage of health and robustness which, among the fire-worshippers, the undestroyed infants retained.

The New York State Hospital for Deformed and Crippled Children reports for 1907 the paltry number of 68 patients treated. Of these, 22, the greatest number from any one county, come from New York County—Manhattan Island. Thirty-nine of the total 68, or more than half, were suffering from tuberculous diseases of the joints. Tuberculous diseases, scrofula, and kindred ailments are being increasingly recognized as developing from and as being fostered by insufficient food. Is anything being done to remedy this condition?

City Superintendent of Schools Maxwel reports that more than half of the children now attending schools are suffering from physical ailments which hinder their study. "The conditions of modern city life tend to produce physical defects and disease in children," he says. Crowding in ill-lighted tenements, insufficient feeding, lack of play room are among the conditions of modern city life which he blames for this state of affairs. Is anything being done to remedy these conditions?

A few State hospitals cannot compensate for the system which leaves thousands of children disabled and handicapped in life by unfit food or surroundings. A few orphan asylums cannot compensate for the system which robs tens of thousands of father and mother. A capitalist two-times-two education, caught on the fly between cradle and sweatshop, cannot compensate for the millions who are deprived of any at all. Making every allowance possible, and considering that to-day, for the first time in human history, enough is producible to feed, clothe, and house all in comfort, capitalism still remains the most profligate of its children's lives of all the systems of society ever known.

What of the children? Capitalism says, Anything, so long as my profits flow in. Socialism alone can answer, A full and joyous life be theirs for they are the future men and women of the nation!

NOT THREE BUT MANY.

The New York "Evening Post"—organ of the free trade and rifle-diet-to-the-working-class wing of the capitalist class—is of the opinion that the panic killed three superstitions: the superstition that a Republican administration is good for business; the superstition that a high traiff is a bulwark against hard times; and third, the superstition that a large per capita of circulating medium means financial safety. Quite neatly the "Evening Post" proves we have a Republican administration, a high tariff and a large per capita, and still an appalling panic prevails. The "Evening Post" stopped short just when it threatened to become interesting. The series of superstitions which the panic either killed or crippled for life does not stop where the "Evening Post" stopped. The series goes on, to wit:

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist is a "Pillar of Morality"—The panic made havoc of that superstition. It was not misfortune or accident that caused the panic, but downright swindle. The swindle having worn out its legs, it fell down, and capitalists in considerable numbers died of "apoplexy."

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist class is an intelligent class, a class with the special genius required to keep business steady. —The panic staved in the head of that superstition. The capitalist is pitchforked by the panic as a bubble on the wave; an ignoramus who trusts to luck.

It used to be a widespread superstition that Socialism simply slandered existing government by styling it "capitalist government."—The panic knocked the bottom from under that superstition by exhibiting the government ready to place the whole Federal financial resources at the disposal of the capitalist class, whereas the government has not a red copper with which to assist the workers in distress.

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist is a tub standing on its own individualistic bottom, and thereby the beacon of individualism.—The panic tore the superstition to tatters by exhibiting the capitalist class as a row of bricks in unstable equilibrium, leaning one upon the other, and dropping flat like windrows the moment any one of the lot was knocked over.

It used to be a widespread superstition that the capitalist class was an eagle in foresight.—The panic approved the capitalist as blind as a bat.

The series of superstitions that the panic treated roughly may be prolonged almost indefinitely. And therein lies one of the social missions of panics.

SPECIMEN JOHN R. WALSH.

The president of the Chicago National Bank, John R. Walsh, is to-day a convicted felon. The original indictment contained 182 counts. Demurrers were sustained as to 32 counts. He was convicted on the remaining 150 counts. As president of the Chicago National Bank Walsh loaned the pretty sum of $16,000,000, not upon securities, good, bad or indifferent, but to support a number of struggling enterprises which HE owned. Accordingly, bank president Walsh used $16,000,000 of the people's moneys to promote his own private ventures. Such "cleverness," "push" and "enterprise" as Walsh displayed is too humdrum to entitle him to the distinction of a specimen. Not on this particular score is the gentleman worthy of specimen distinction. He is entitled to the distinction on a separate score.

When the mouthpieces of capitalism find themselves confuted and refuted in facts and principle, they frequently resort to the myth of the "self-made" man. They set up some "self-made" man, and say here is the proof conclusive that he who is "clever," "pushing," and "enterprising" can become rich. Only the stupid remain poor. John R. Walsh was a "self-made" man. He began life as many a self-made man is said to have begun it, "a penniless boy selling newspapers,"—and he rose majestically into a striped penitentiary suit.

John R. Walsh, like his kind, was held up, and he did himself hold up himself as a sample of "what can be done" provided the doer is "clever," "pushing" and "enterprising." He is a specimen of his kind. For one thing, how many men were unmade in order to "make" this one? Walsh's finale throws a light back upon the rungs of the ladder by which he climbed. His track is strewn with others' ruin. For another thing, the moral atmosphere of the self-made man is exemplified by Walsh.

That there is not a single "self-made" man of the several who are held up to public gaze, who did not travel the identical road that Walsh traveled, and who, if he had his deserts, would not be just where Walsh is to-day, every intelligent man knows. The capitalist is no better than his social system. Crimes are the rungs by which capitalism rises—so the "self-made" man.

And such are the specimens that pulpiteers, professors, politicians and capitalist press sing in chorus the praises of, and urge the youth of the land to emulate.

PROF. PAUL MILYUKOV'S ADDRESS.

A rare treat is offered in this issue to the readers of The People by the publication in full of the address delivered at Carnegie Hall on the evening of January the 14th, before the Civic Forum, by Paul Milyukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the present Duma.

Milyukov is the first non-Socialist who does not misquote the sociology of Marx. The analysis that he makes of the present revolutionary movement in Russia is masterly. Socialists, will of course, disagree with the workableness of the Constitutional-Democratic program presented by Milyukov, and it is not unlikely that Milyukov himself, though now a sadder, is also a wiser man. But it is the privilege of the Socialist, just because he is drilled in Marxian philosophy, to pity the fate that compels a Milyukov to "drag his anchor" as he is now unfortunately doing, in the tempest that is raging in Russia.

Milyukov's analysis of the situation in Russia, backed by the facts that he marshals to the front, is about the best vindication yet produced by socio-political development of the Marxian philosophy. The circumstance that the vindication is enacted upon so broad and conspicuous a stage as Russia adds vividness thereto.

The course of social evolution is from anarchy to despotism; from despotism to representative political government; from representative political government to Industrial Administration, or Socialism. To express the same thought in other words—and from another viewpoint—human society starts in the mobocracy of individualism; from the mobocracy of individualism to autocratic individualism; from autocratic individualism to the organized individuality of a ruling class; from the organized individuality of a ruling class to the organized individuality of the whole people. Russia found herself, on the eve of the revolution, at the second stage of the process. But that stage was not as clearly marked as it was and is found in other countries. That second stage had not yet solved within itself the elements for the third stage. Milyukov blames the Socialists with "sheer madness" for undertaking "the struggle with the capitalists before their struggle with the autocracy had come to a satisfactory ending." The charge is correct — but therefore draws the Constitutional Democrats themselves under the ban. Constitutional Democracy under conditions such as Milyukov admits—an insignificant industrial proletariat overtopped by an overwhelming mass of primitive peasantry—is out of the question. Milyukov's exposition demonstrates the fact—which, strange to say, the Professor does not seem to realize, and at only the consequences of which he sighs—that Russia is not yet ripe to move out of the second into the third social evolutionary stage, and that all that can be expected, by the light of history, confirmed by present experience in Russia, is that the present titanic struggle in Russia—the generous sacrifice of human life, the abnegation, devotedness and lofty morality of the Revolutionary forces — is to frighten and chasten the Autocracy into dropping its extreme barbarous habits and enter into a career of gentleness, or mitigated despotism.

It follows from this estimate—

First, that the orbit in which Russian society is at present moving is that intermediary orbit which preludes the change from autocracy to representative government—an intermediary orbit that all other capitalist nations have had to travel and that some of them, Germany, for instance, is not yet quite out of.

Second, that, although the aspirations of the Russian Socialists were unjustified, nevertheless their TACTICS, that is, their extremely harsh methods, were the correct ones, while the gentler and seemingly more rational tactics of the Constitutional Democrats rather harmed than did good. Barbaric autocracy is only encouraged to persist in its barbarism if assailed with the weapon of civilization. Physical force, and physical force only, only the dread of death can penetrate the hide of barbaric autocracy, and constrain it to gentler ways.

There is a third conclusion—it concerns not Russia; it concerns America—for the very reason that, in Russia, the extreme Socialist tactics were the only ones from which ultimate practical results could flow, in America such tactics are unnecessary; while, for the very reason that the aspiration of the Russian Socialists were unjustified, it is their slogan—"The unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class!"—that alone can meet requirements in America.

Prof. Paul Milyukov's address may, for the reasons stated above, be considered a revolutionary chart for the people of America. Nor does the curious circumstance that a Bishop Potter, a political capitalist pulpiteer, presided at the unrolling of the chart, detract from its value. The circumstance rather adds zest to the chart by furnishing an additional illustration of the fact that, such is the pulse of the Movement in America, that our capitalists are Providentially driven to counter-act their policy of spreading ingnorance, by themselves presiding at the unrolling of so valuable a chart before our people.

BURNS CELEBRATIONS

THEY OBSCURE THE REAL WORK DONE BY THE POET FOR HUMAN ADVANCEMENT.

On Jan. 25 all over the English speaking world celebrations were held in honor of the 149th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns the poet. Smirking preachers, who really hate the poet's name, made speeches; and propertied men, whose kind the poet in his day castigated, extolled the merits of the man whose name lives as poet of the people. Many and varied were the speeches, toasts and tributes paid to the unquestioned genius of Burns by these sycophants of to-day. One can in imagination hear their glib talk about his passionate utterances, his tenderness, and of the love-lit fancy and truth of nature that make the songs of Burns unexcelled; all of which is true enough, for without doubt Robert Burns stands high in the ranks of lyric poets.

But Burns was more than an "inspired rustic" "flinging his wood notes wild"—he was a man, with a man's work to do—the work of freeing his countrymen from superstition. And it is just this work that the preachers and other orators in speaking passed by with little or no reference to it, except perhaps the attempts to explain it away as an idiosyncracy to be expected of a man of genius.

In his revolt against the power and conventionalities that held him and his fellows in bondage, Burns' first tilt was with the Church. Of all the creeds of the Reformation the Calvinism of the Presbyterian Church was the most logical, merciless and blasphemous. That it got a footing in the affection of the people is to be explained only on the theory that the bitter fight made against it by the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Episcopals endeared the Presbyterian creed to the people. It was only after one hundred years of fierce and bloody contention that Calvinism triumphed and became the established religion of Scotland. The struggle bred a fanaticism worse, if anything, than any that had gone before. The Westminster Catechism became a school-book; the Proverbs of Solomon and the rest of the Old, as well as the New Testament, in their turn became school text-books, until in the end the whole public and private life of the people became subjected to the authority of the book which sets forth Jewish mythology, folk-lore and the ethics of barbarism.

The revolt from Roman Catholicism was so extreme that it proved fatal to the fine arts. Because Rome had elaborate musical service, Presbyterians cut out music entirely. In fact, a studied effort was made to frame everything connected with their worship in distinct opposition, in all things, to the methods of the Church of Rome. And worse than the Roman priests whom they supplanted were the long-faced ministers of the Calvin-Knox persuasion. Laughter and joy became sins; long faces and groans were evidences of future happiness; belief in the devil was strong; hell, devil and damnation were droned out Sunday after Sunday until the minds of men and women became affected by oppressive fears, by dread that paralyzed mind and limb. Under the damnable superstition and ignorance thus engendered, the people quietly submitted to the rule of laird and minister. The preacher taught that the heavenly king had delegated to the laird the temporal power and to himself the spiritual power. The people, without much questioning, accepted this and by continual toil and privation provided for the two branches of the Lord's anointed. "'Tis God's Will," said they, echoing the preacher's cant.

Luckily, here and there could be found "agents of the devil" who didn't swallow all of the sermonizings. These were brave spirits, for under Calvinism an "infidel" could get into the fire long before he reached hell. This is no exaggeration, for Calvinism, like most of the other Christian bodies, has burnt its thousands.

In the time of Burns, these superstitions, while not so implicitly believed in, were perhaps all the stronger as institutions, just as at present we see less faith in courts of law and yet a greater exercise of power by them. Great mental darkness prevailed when Burns turned the keen searchlight of his satire into the deep recesses of holy gloom, and so well did he light those caverns of superstition that, mask it as they may, the preachers of this day hate the name of Burns much as they hate the name of Thomas Paine.

The poet was in his twenty-sixth year when he had his first tilt with the Church, and the warfare only ended with his death. "The Holy Fair," depicting the sensuous revel that took place at the administration of the sacrament, took the country by storm. On these occasions relays of preachers were on hand to stir up the people, and Burns took the opportunity to hit the bunch collectively as well as showing up each one's characteristics separately.

"Holy Willie's Prayer" is another of the sarcastic and "too daring" of the poems of Burns. "Holy Willie" was a member of the church by which Burns had been censured for "immorality." "Willie" was a "professing Christian" who made free with the money of the poor of the parish, and he who had censured the poet was found drunk and died in a ditch. In this poem the prayer of the Pharisee in the parable is outdone, and in addition Burns makes us laugh at the hypocrite and the Church which he typified.

The celebrated "Tam o' Shanter" is another poem in which the poet launches the shafts of his satire at superstitions that prevailed in his day. "The inimitable tale" Scott calls this poem. In it are grouped all the things in which the orthodox expressed belief: devils, witches, warlocks, and it was the supreme stroke of genius to marshal all these hosts of the nether world in a church—the one place alone responsible for the malignant belief.

That Burns did not have any greater respect for the temporal power of the laird than he had for the spiritual power of the preacher is abundantly shown in his works.

In "Man Was Made to Mourn," we read the lines:

> See yonder poor, o'erlabor'd wight,
>   So abject, mean and vile,
> Who begs a brother of the earth
>   To give him leave to toil;
> And see his lordly fellow-worm
>   The poor petition spurn,
> Unmindful, though a weeping wife
>   And helpless offspring mourn.

Again, in a "Winter Night," the smothering snow is told that not all its rage and chill is equal to the injustice that man on brother-man bestows and continues:

> See stern oppression's iron grip,
>   Or mad ambition's gory hand,
> Sending, like bloodhounds from the slip,
> Woe, want and murder o'er a land.

In "The Jolly Beggars" is the rollicking chorus:

> A fig for those by law protected!
>   Liberty's a glorious feast!
> Courts for cowards were erected,
>   Churches built to please the priest.

In "The Twa Dogs" Burns shows that he was a keen observer of the social conditions of his time. This poem is a talk between a rich man's imported dog and a poor man's collie—the one kept for pleasure, the other has duties to perform. Landlordism crushed the cotter, who, as before stated, accepted his condition as God-ordained. The only commentary on this poem in my copy of the poet's works says the picture of the collie is particularly true to life, but there are other lines in the poem not descriptive of collies, but showing how the factor exacted the last penny from the cotters while they had to stand it "wi' aspect humble."

Despite all that preachers and the class of the lairds may say against Burns, we gladly join in the refrain of his song:

> **For a' that, and a' that,**
>   **It's comin' yet for a' that,**
> **When man to man, the warld o'er,**
>   **Shall brithers be for a' that!**

H. S. K.

WORKERS' MISERY INCREASES.

The mildness of the winter up to now has minimized somewhat the suffering due to the panic; it almost seemed as if the wind had been tempered to the shorn lamb, but the blizzard of Thursday night, followed by indications of a further cold wave has added the sting of cold to the agony of hunger. The balminess that has prevailed up to now made endurable the thin clothing and the broken foot covering of the needy, but now the chilling blast and the snow will search in to the marrow of the unprotected. In the tenements the inmates must shiver over their little fires, lucky indeed if able to buy coal by the pail at the rate of about $10 a ton, while the out of work fathers tramp the streets vainly hunting for work.

In Boston, Bridgeport, New Britain and other Eastern cities there have been parades of the unemployed, while in

(Continued on page 6.)

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN — The world seems to be going crazy!

UNCLE SAM—What about?

B. J.—You can't open a paper without your eye alights on the word "Socialism." Is is "Socialism" here, "Socialism" there, "Socialism" everywhere.

U. S.—I should take that for a sign of increasing sanity.

B. J.—"Sanity!" There is something about you Socialists, I mean good fellows like you, that puzzles me.

U. S.—I may be able to unpuzzle you. What is it?

B. J.—You are so kind-hearted, yet so cruel. You mean to do the best for people, and you go about deliberately to do the worst for them; you mean them to be happy, and you seek to insure their unhappiness.

U. S. (looks amused)—In what way?

B. J.—You think I am fooling. I am not. You want the workingmen to enjoy the beauties of the Socialist Republic. Now, I admit that the Socialist Republic must be the most enjoyable abode for man possible.

U. S.—If that is so, in what way are we Socialists encompassing the unhappiness of the people?

B. J.—I was just about to explain that. Now, it so happens that with all their troubles and miseries, he working class ARE contented. Their life is not a happy one, I admit that, too. Nevertheless, in order to reach that point where they will be enjoying the happiness of the Socialist Republic, it is, first of all, necessary to render them discontented with their present lot. Without you do that you couldn't get them to move.

U. S.—Granted!

B. J.—So that in order to reach the expected happiness of the Socialist Republic, you must begin by robbing them of their present happiness.

U. S.—"Present happiness"?

B. J.—Yes; that happiness that always attends content. And, then, suppose you Socialists do succeed in establishing the Socialist Republic, and along with it, all the joys that you expect. Will the game be worth the candle to these poor workingmen?

U. S.—I most assuredly think it would.

B. J.—Let's see! the higher the plane on which man stands, all the more sensitive is he. A fly has less feeling than a mouse, a mouse less than a monkey, a monkey less than a man. Man stands on the highest plane, but he has to pay dear for that by being subjct to tortures that the lowly fly knows naught of. Raise the lowly workingmen to the giddy elevation of the citizenship of the Socialist Republic or Co-operative Commonwealth, and it will be to him as if you raised a fly from its present lack of sensitiveness, i. e., happiness. Which is why I say you Socialists mean to impart happiness to the masses, and only lay the ground for their greater unhappiness. You must admit this.

U. S.—All is not said by looking at one side of a medal.

B. J.—Is there another side of this medal?

U. S.—Very much so. Man in the Socialist Republic is more sensitive, consequently, will be subject to sorrow not dreamed of by him to-day; consequently will be unhappier. Therefore, it is wrong to work for the Socialist Republic. That's your argument?

B. J.—That is.

U. S.—Consequently, this must also follow: life at the stage of human development is infinitely more sensitive, consequently subject to pains not dreamed of by life at the stage of the fly development; therefore, we should wish to be flies and not men. That is your position. Now, how much further back the scale of development would you like man to go, so as to reach YOUR ideal state of happiness.

B. J. remains mute.

U. S.—Your silence is more eloquent than your speech. Yielding to the vanity of wishing to seem philosophic, you have taken a stand which, if it means anything, is an advocacy of Retrogression, of Bestiality. Your silence shows that your better parts recoil from your pretense to philosophy. Aye, "better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." The arguments against Socialism are in seeming only. Socialism has all the trump cards.

The People
New York N.Y.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

WHO CAN REPLACE THE THEFT?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—

Columbia University in the
City of New York.
Jan. 22, 1908.

Labor News Company, New York.

Gentlemen:—

Some time ago you were kind enough to give us several numbers of your Labor Library. These numbers we had bound in one volume, but this has been stolen from our library. We would like to have as complete a file of the numbers at this library as you can get together for us, and if possible, presented to us; but if you cannot do this kindly send them with bill.

Very truly yours,
Margaret Van Zandt.

[The Labor Library referred to in the above communication was the leaflets issued some years ago by the Labor News, and of which we are not able to furnish a set as requested by Miss Van Zandt. Perhaps some of our friends have some of the numbers which they would be willing to send us in order that the request may be complied with as far as possible. Anyone having spare copies please send them to the Labor News.]

PROSPERITY IN PROVIDENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A careful canvass of the leading manufacturing establishments of this city shows beyond a doubt that the industrial situation is not improving.

Brown & Sharp are working two gangs alternating every week, the idea being to keep the high class mechanics in town with just barely enough to keep them alive.

The American-British Co. (old Corliss Engine Works), are practically down, but very few men working in any of the great shops that were but lately completed. Colvins Iron Foundry reports very few new orders. The Rhode Island Tool Co. are running but the manager stated he had absolutely no new orders.

The electric lighting company have felt the depression, and have let many men of the construction gangs go. The office force may be curtailed at an early date.

The small fellows are feeling the pressure. Many will never get their heads above the water. The jewelry trade is dead. The shops are practically idle. Long rows of empty banches greet the visitor where six months ago were working men and women, boys and girls.

There is talk of opening the Union Trust Co. The receivers found 14,000 depositors whose savings amounted to $31 each. The Socialists' contention that the workers deposit but a small amount of the money placed in savings banks is proven true.

The weather here has been mild, otherwise we would see great suffering.

E. A. See.

Providence, R. I., Jan. 21.

LYNN'S "PROSPERITY."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In this city business is paralyzed. The shoe industry is at a standstill and the General Electric Co. is doing nothing. Out of 8,000 or 10,000 employes there are not 2,000 working three days a week. They shut down all last week, and worked only three days this week; and now they are shut down for ten days more.

In my forty years' residence in Lynn, I never saw so much poverty as I have seen for the last four or five months, and if it were a cold winter I don't know what the poor would have done. The unemployed of Boston, led by one Morrison L. Swift, marched to the State House some time ago and presented Governor Guild with a petition to do something for them. They were referred to the Free Employment Bureau, where they got nothing. They were going to hold a meeting on Boston Common yesterday afternoon, but when they got to the Common they were met by twenty mounted police who marched them out of Boston to the town of Brookline and told them not to return.

The local press is having everything "booming" here. They said some time ago that the General Electric Co. was going to put 6,000 hands to work. The fact is that you can not get within a mile of the office where they do the hiring; they don't open the office at all, nor have they for the last month. Instead they have a sign "No help of any kind wanted."

"Friend of labor" Hearst has lost in he newsboys' strike. He raised the rice of his papers to the boys 20 per ent. The boys struck and won the strike for the old prices; then they demanded that he recognize the newsboys' union. He told them to go to a warm climate, so he advertised in eight cities for 25 men in each place at $2 per day. They were told to apply between 9 and 10 o'clock at a local office in this city, but before 9 o'clock next morning there were from 12 to 15 hundred waiting instead of 25.

My advice to anybody is to keep away from Lynn for some time to come.

X. Y. Z.

West Lynn, Mass., Jan. 23.

HASTY ACTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following resolution was adopted at the regular business meeting of Mixed Local 198, I. W. W., of Toronto, Canada, on Thursday, January 16th.

Whereas, There has recently been organized in this city a section of the Socialist Labor Party, chartered by the National Executive Committee of London, Canada;

Whereas, The organizer of said section, in the person of one Gus. A. Maves, has seen fit, through the columns of The People, to discredit Local 198, I. W. W., in this city by claiming that said local has repudiated its own preamble insofar as they do not recognize the necessity of political action or a political organization, and insinuates among other things, that members of Local 198 have thrown down The People, and consider the S. L. P. as being dead;

Whereas, Such opinion is erroneous, inasmuch as Local 198 fully endorses the preamble in its fullest sense, and its members recognize the usefulness of The People and the Socialist Labor Party;

Whereas, At a meeting of said section of the S. L. P. certain members of Local 198, being present, asked for a retraction of such false statements, such retraction to be made through the columns of The People;

Whereas, No disposition was manifested at said meeting to take any such action; therefore be it

Resolved, That until such time as reparation is made in the way mentioned, Local 198, I. W. W., of Toronto, refuses to recognize Section Toronto, S. L. P., as truly representing the principles of the Socialist Labor Party; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Daily and Weekly People and the Industrial Union Bulletin.

W. Pickering, Secretary.

[An answer, from a member of Local 198 of Toronto, to the article referred to was published in The People with Maves' reply. The matter should have ended there. The readers of The People heard both sides. A continuation of the dispute can only stir up bad blood.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE WEST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Just a little news of the conditions of the working clas in the middle western states may be of interest to the readers of The People.

We read in the capitalist newspapers all about the restoration of confidence and how the benevolent employers of labor have put thousands of wage slaves back to work.

I am like the Missourian; they have to show me. Since Jan. 2, I have been through more than half my territory and I have four states to cover within a radius of hundred miles. Wherever I have been the same condition prevails.

To begin with Joliet, which is a great railroad center and, next to South Chicago, the largest steel town. There the wire mills of the Steel Trust are located. What did I find there? Misery and starvation; no factories of any size working; business houses failing and those that remain finding it hard to meet their bills.

Next come Elgin and Aurora, both big factory towns with very important industries and many well to do farmers in the immediate vicinity. What did I find there? The same conditions as at the first mentioned place!

Then came Pullman and Kensington, about thirteen miles south of Chicago.

In the model home town of Pullman, originator of the infamous "Nothing to arbitrate" phrase in the strike of 1894, what did I find? In the surrounding factory towns thousands of wage workers out of work, looking for masters and not able to find one. Thousands have returned to their native lands to find the same conditions and perhaps worse over there. At Harvey, Ill., also a suburb of Chicago, where, ordinarily, thousands of wage slaves are employed at different factories, at present out of about 10,000 not over 500 are employed, and these are working at reduced wages (that is a secret told me by one who knows).

On the 12th, that is last Monday, I was at Waukegen, Ill., thirty-six miles north of Chicago, and the story I heard in other places was given to me there. At Waukegan is located a very big plant of the United States Steel Co., with wire mills. The Corn Product Refineries, an immense institution employing many hundreds of workingmen are there, too; also the National Envelop factory, the largest in the middle west, I believe. At these plants few are working.

Tuesday I was at Kenosha, Wis. There you will find the largest leather factory in the world, so I am told; also one of the largest brass foundries in the country. There the people have been working very little in the past ten weeks and the last four weeks most of the works have been closed down entirely; and to cap the climax the brass polishers have been on a futile strike. They are tied up with a contract which the labor lieutenant used to rake in dues. At other large factories all have been working two or three days per week since the panic began.

At Racine, Wis., a very important factory town with a population of about 36,000, out of about fifty different large and small industries, very few are working since last November and not all are working yet. Some run two or three days a week.

In Racine is located the Case Implement Factory, and in the machine shop the molders have been on strike for two and a half years and they will keep on striking as long as the labor lieutenants will be able to rake in strike assessments at the rate of 25c. per week on every member of the molders union in Racine and perhaps other unions.

I spoke to the vice-president of the molders about nine months ago and he told me then they had the company beaten flat and that it would have to go into the hands of a receiver, but the poor dupes have been beaten and their stomachs are getting flat (not the "leaders'" stomaches). As long as the other crafts scab on their fellow wage slaves the capitalist class is safe.

This morning I arrived in South Bend, Ind., a city of about 70,000, with factories of all descriptions. The principal among those are the Studebaker Carriage and Automobile Works. These employ about 6,000 men in all departments, and out of all their force only 300 are employed at present. To-day I was told they are to close down entirely. Several hundred workingmen of different nationalities have gone back to their native lands. Next come the Oliver Farm Machinery and Implements Works. They have been closed some little time and are now working about five days per week, and 8 hours a day with, as you may think, 8 hours pay. Next in importance is the Singer Sewing Machine Co.'s cabinet works. It is an immense factory. I have often seen thousands of workingmen swarm out of it in the evening. Not so many are employed there now, and for several weeks the works have been closed for repairs. Christmas in the workingmen's houses was not overloaded with the good things that go to gladden the hearts of those who want to be cheerful at that season. Other large factories are working only part of the time.

In the face of all this the capitalist hirelings go around lecturing the country and tell the working class that had it not hoarded up its savings but had trusted them to the banks, the panic would not have come about. These were the very words I heard a certain wiseacre saying in a lecture in a small town where I stayed over night on the 3rd. inst. Of course, I wouldn't have been allowed to answer him if I had tried to.

D. Ruduick.

South Bend, Ind., Jan. 16.

KEEP POSTED

* * *

There is every reason why the militant Socialist should keep up with the events of the times.
In the *first* place that he be posted himself. In the *second* place that he may post others.
The *Daily People* will keep you posted.
Try it for three months which costs but *One Dollar*.
Send in your subscription *To-day*.

* * *

DAILY PEOPLE
P. O. Box 1576
New York.

SPARKS "PRAISED"

HOW "PUBLIC OPINION" IS MANUFACTURED IN GOLDFIELD.

P. C. Rawling Wins Audience to His Side—Resolutions Commending Governor Withdrawn—Mine Owners Tool Declares Second Resolution Carried in Spite of Overwhelming Sentiment Against It.

Reno., Nev., January 19. — A mass meeting was held here recently about which the working class of the country needs to be informed more fully of. The meeting was called to order with a statement from the presiding officer that the purpose was for all the citizens to express their views on the Goldfield trouble and the extra session of the Nevada Legislature called to convene Jan. 14. The first thing done was to read a set of resolutions commending Governor Sparks for violating his oath of office, and condemning the miners as lawless anarchists.

The motion was about to be put to the house by the chair, when P. C. Rawlings asked permission to speak. After some hesitation the chair gave him ten minutes' time. The parties to the framed up resolution were allowed to speak as long as they wanted to. However, Rawlings made good uhe of his allotted time, but for a minute's time of interruption by a gang of hoodlums evidently sent there by the mine owners for that purpose.

Rawlings asked the cowards who were causing the disturbance in the vestibule to come into the hall and be men, and he would meet them any way that man ever met man. He stated that he was a member of Local No. 220, Goldfield Miners' Union, Western Federation of Miners, and that he was there to defend the union against any and all comers, in spite of all they could do. Rawlings in his eloquent appeal for justice won the crowd, and when the chair refused him more time the crowd cheered him again and again.

The framed up resolution was withdrawn to save it from certain defeat, and a committee was appointed to draft a new set. The committee consisted of ex-sheep herder (now millionaire) and ex-State Senator, P. L. Flanagan and four others, all members of the mine owners' State Rangers.

When the new resolution commending Sparks had been debated for some time by the advocates of corporation rule, President McKinnon of the Goldfield union accidentally got the floor and in a masterly way presented the miners' side of the strike at Goldfield. He challenged the legal lights and toughs of the mine owners present to refute any of his statement, but there was no reply from the self-styled "law and order" brigands.

Rawlings asked permission to speak to the new resolution, but was refused by the chair. Amid cries of "Rawlings! Rawlings!" and "Goldfield Miners' Union!" the chair put the resolution to a vote, and it was voted down by a big majority. In the face of all this the chair declared the resolution carried and immediately left the hall.

These are the men who cry out for the blood of the sturdy miners and are using every weapon which gold can buy to deprive them of their rights as American citizens. These are the men who cry out for the protection of their property, but are deaf to any appeal to make safe the mines where their wage slaves toil.

Wm. Jurgens.

JOHN. F. PYER.

Whereas, Comrade John F. Pyer has been a loyal and active member of Section Bridgeport, Socialist Labor Party, for many years, running on the ticket year after year, and

Whereas, He, after a long, lingering illness, now has been called to a premature end by the grim reaper Death, leaving a family to mourn the loss of their bread-winner; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, Section Bridgeport, S. L. P., in regular meeting assembled, express our heart-felt sympathy to the family in their present grief and bereavement; and be it

Resolved, That we will work with unabated zeal for the final overthrow of the present disease-breeding system; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family, to the Party press, and also be entered on the minutes.

P. Farren,
J. C. Custer, Committee.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. **First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.**

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

"READER," NEW YORK—It is not the province of the Editor of The People to editorialize, at this stage of the proceedings, on the Unity Proposition. The N. E. C. having issued the call to the S. P., action thereupon must be awaited by this office.

L. D. B., LOS ANGELES, CAL., and G. W. B., RED BLUFFS, CAL., AND ALL OTHERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—It will be impossible to publish individual letters on the Unity Proposition. Such letters may not be boiled down. They must be published in full, or not at all. Space will not permit their publication in full. Under the head "As to Unity," only the utterances of organizations and extracts from papers can be admitted. If any S. L. P. organization adopts a resolution, and there be a minority against it, the minority should express itself collectively and in as few words as posible.

"READER," NIOBRARA, NEB.—Now to your third question. The S. P. was organized in 1900. It developed from the unity of Eugene V. Deb's original colony movement, and the seceders of the S. L. P. The seceding element differed from the main body on the ground of the attitude to be adopted towards the A. F. of L. The S. L. P. considered the A. F. of L. a bulwark of capitalism; the seceders held the opposite view.

Next question next week.

W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—Now to your sixth question. Australia had a representative of her own at Stuttgart, separate and apart from the British delegation.

W. P., DOVERCOURT, CANADA—Your resolutions were published in the Daily People immediately upon receipt, January 21, and could not yet appear in the Weekly.

G. A. M., TORONTO, CAN.—The People can allow no more space to the Toronto controversy.

E. M., BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—When Socialists quote from Karl Marx's "Capital" they do so, the same as when they or anybody else quotes from a work that he approves. Marx's "Capital" is a work that explains the economic laws of capitalist society. As such, "Capital" is a work that demolishes capitalism and furnishes the reasons for Socialism.

H. H. R., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—Society does not live on wine (old, new or middling). Even Mallock does not seek to attack Marx on the ground of the "value" of such things as "old wines," "old coins," etc. Boehm Bawerk seeks to run away from the real and only question when he asks: "Who are the laborers that are exploited when the vine grower sells for $100 a cask of wine that has lain in his cellar and grown old, and that, when first put there, could only fetch $50? But Boehm Bawerk can not run so fast as not to be overtaken by the Socialist and brought down. Who are, in that instance, the laborers that are exploited?

Answer—"The laborers who produced the wine." In the first place they were plundered of the bulk of their product when the wine was first pressed, and during the process that proceeded that. If the wine's value was, at the time, $50, they surely did not get that amount in wages. They were exploited to the extent of the difference between what they did get and what the wine was originally worth. As a consequence of that original exploitation, they were subsequently exploited to the extent of the difference between what they did get and the $100 that the wine was subsequently worth. If I own a cow, big with calf, and a thief steals my cow, it takes a Boehm Bawerk to theorize that the calf, which my cow subsequently calved, does not belong to me but belongs to the thief of my cow. Logical reasoning, to say nothing of abstract morality, would argue that the appropriation of the calf subsequently born, only aggravates the original theft of my cow, and brings the original theft into all the stronger relievo.

S. T., ELIZABETH, N. J.—1st. A letter quoting the Editor of the *Volkszeitung* as having made the statement you claim can not be published over a fictitious name. Allow your name to appear and the letter will be published.

2nd. The financial reports of The People are furnished to Party members by the N. E. C. through their respective State committees. Are you a Party member?

W. V. B., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—There is no such "abridged" edition of Marx's "Capital." Apply to the Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, this city, for its publications.

H. K., NEW BRITAIN, CONN.—The clippings were useless. They had neither date nor name of publication.

J. O. J., CINCINNATI, O.—The march of society is: First, mob; second, despotism; third, representative action.

W. R. P., SPOKANE, WASH.; T. F., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; G. S. P., WORCESTER, MASS.; S. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; W. E. K., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. C., NEW YORK; E. S. E. JERSEY CITY, N. J.; G. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; G. L., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; G. F., SPOKANE, WASH.; R. M., DENVER, COLO.; T. J. P., OLNEYVILLE, R. I.; "ELECTRICAL WORKER," PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Matter received.

AS TO UNITY

[In this column, and under the above head, will be reproduced the official acts taken by the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party organizations on the Unity Resolutions, adopted by the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P., at its semi-annual session, January 5-8 of this year, and also extracts, without comment, from S. L. P., S. P., and other papers, on the said resolutions.]

[From "Common Sense" (S. P.) Los Angeles, January 11.]

Local Biloxi, Miss., S. P.—That members of the Socialist Labor Party, or any other party advocating Socialism, shall have the right to become members of the Socialist Party by taking such action as is required of all others who apply for membership in the Socialist Party.

[From Jewish "Forward" (S. P.) New York, January 16.]

It is noteworthy that the "statesmen" of the S. L. P. have for years without let-up shouted that the S. P. is a party of fakirs, cockroach businessmenn, etc., and only last week the said "statesmen" discovered that the comrades of both parties differ only in their opinion of certain practical questions. Did they really make this wonderful discovery only last week or did it happily serve their purposes last week to make the discovery? In the first case they may label themselves "Idiotic Fanatics"; in the second case we label them "Shameless Hypocrites." . . . First of all, the leaders of the S. L. P. do not believe that Unity will be realized. They know the ones higher up in the S. P. They know that these will use all their power for different results from their rsolutions. They probably hope that their resolutions will bring about a demoralization in the ranks of the S. P.; that this demoralization will later cause a split; and, as a consequence of this split, the left wing of the younger party will attach itself to the elder. And then will the S. L. P. be the larger and stronger party, and will be able to whistle at the other.

[From "New Yorker Volkszeitung" (S. P.) New York, January 23.]

"Unity with what, with a corpse?" exclaimed an old comrade when he heard of the proposition made by the S. L. P. And with these words he described the situation to perfection. . . . The split in the Socialist Labor Party came about mainly on account of the conflicting views entertained by the splitting wings upon the question of Trades Unionism. These conflicting views exist still. . . . The matter [unity] can be easily settled by the rest of the Socialist Labor Party's applying for admission at the respective locals of the Socialist Party, as has been done by a large number of members of the former party, who applied to us for admission and were accepted. By such a course the danger would be obviated of having the sins of the S. L. P. and its spokesmen transferred to our party.

[*Resolution of* WATERBURY, CONN., *Branch of the Bund.*]

The Waterbury, Conn., branch of the "Bund" congratulates the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. upon its call for unity.

We wish and hope, that both parties desirous of having one powerful Socialist Party, will, as speedily as possible, open a free discussion in the press on the conditions for unity, and will also use all other means in order to bring about such unity.

Long Live the United Socialist Party of America!

With Socialist greetings,—The Waterbury, Conn., Branch of the "Bund."

[*Resolution of Branch 54 Arbeiter Ring, N. Y.*]

At our regular meeting, Friday, January 17th, the question of unity between the two Socialist parties was discussed. Considering the injury caused us workingmen by the division of the Socialist forces, we have decided to assist with all our might in order to bring about unity between the S. P. and the S. L. P. We also call upon all Socialist and progressive organizations to follow suit, so that our representatives should know our wish and act in accordance with the will of the progressive workingmen.

With Socialist greetings, Branch 54, Arbeiter Ring,—The Committee.

[From "Philadelphia Tageblatt" (S. P.) January 24.]

There is most particularly no unity—a question out of discussion—with the remaining De Leonites, because they are diametrically opposed to the correct mentioned policy [bore from within], to say nothing of other reasons. If they should pledge themselves to recognize the position of the Socialist Party toward trade unions, they will be welcome members. But "Unity" of organization with organization—is not, would be the greatest foolishness that could be committed.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

S. L. P., at I. W. W. Hall, 12th and Jackson streets. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 110 Bernard st. Visiting comrades, I. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning at 11 a. m.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—J. C. Butterworth, Secretary, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Lessig, Financial Secretary, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd So st. Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash streets.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION.

The following five pamphlets will give the reader the ground work of the principles and tactics of the Socialist movement:

1. Socialism.
2. What Means This Strike?
3. Reform or Revolution.
4. Burning Question of Trades Unionism.
5. Socialism Versus Anarchism.

The lot with "Course of Reading" catalogue sent for 25 cents.

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
28 City Hall Place,
New York City.**

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary pro tem
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes,
412 Wellington Road, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the Sub-Committee was held on January 25, at 28 City Hall Place. Present: Seidel, Lechner, Hammer, Zimmerman, Rosenberg, Malmberg, Orange, Wegener, Branchmann, Schwartz, Hall, Hanlon, Ball. Absent: Katz, Kihn. Chairman, Wegener. M. Rosenberg was elected recording secretary.

For Press Committee the following were elected: Wegener, Hall, Zimmerman, Brauchmann, and Rosenberg.

A. Orange was elected treasurer.

It was decided to meet first and third Wednesdays of each month, at 7 p. m.

Correspondence: From Salt Lake City, sending plan for increasing circulation of Party press. Moved by Seidel, seconded by Hanlon, "That the communication from Section Salt Lake City be given to the Press Committee, for it to draw up a call on the lines laid down by Section Salt Lake City." Carried.

From Section Cincinnati, sending money for International assessment stamps, and Operating fund; also stating election of officers, and having set aside the fourth Thursday in each month for discussion meetings.—Filed.

From Section Hartford, Conn.; that officers had been elected; that Klowansky had been suspended for one month for financial irregularities with party funds. Filed.

From Fellerman, Hartford, Conn., asking for addresses of former members of Section Bridgeport and giving information. Attended to.

From Bridgeport, Conn., giving information, and stating election of member to S. E. C. Filed.

From Cal. S. E. C., stating that Olive M. Johnson had been elected N. E. C. member from California, and sending credential. Filed.

From Newport News, Va., stating that Young and Campbell were there, sold literature, but were unable to hold meetings owing to unfavorable weather. Filed.

From Louisville, Ky., giving information. Filed.

From Fin. Sec'y. Salt Lake City, inquiring about money order sent some time ago. Answered and filed.

From Phoenix, Ariz., asking for information. Answered and filed.

From East St. Louis, Ill., giving information. Filed.

From National Secretary Barnes of the Socialist Party to the effect that he had received the letter containing the Unity Resolutions of the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. and that copies of same were forwarded to the members of the National Committee, and the N. E. C. of the S. P. Filed.

From McConnell, Pittsburg, stating that State Secretary had refused to give him pledge to sign. Filed.

From Lentz, State Secretary, Pa., Pittsburg, stating reasons for not having sent pledge to McConnell. Filed.

From Section Richmond, Va., regarding Young and Campbell, enclosing clippings and giving information. Filed.

From Secretary of State Committee of Virginia, giving information regarding Young and Campbell and asking what can be done by the N. E. C. in the matter of furnishing funds. Moved by Orange, seconded by Hammer, "That fight for free speech in behalf of Young and Campbell be endorsed and membership be urged to contribute to that fund." Carried.

From C. Sperle, Somerville, N. J., sending $1.00 for Young & Campbell defense fund.

From Young, Richmond, Va., stating plan under which he and Campbell were working; that plan has not as yet been published in The People; and calling for the establishment of a fund. Moved by Hammer, seconded by Brauchmann, "That the plan of having volunteer organizers, who are to have their salaries and expenses covered from the proceeds of the sales of literature above cost and from press subscriptions, be endorsed, and continued in operation as long as funds received for that purpose permit; the literature to be supplied from donations to the literature fund created for that purpose, and the secretary be instructed to issue a call for such fund." Carried.

From Seidel, resigning from Sub-Committee owing to being employed on Daily People. Filed.

From Katz, resigning from Sub-Committee owing to inability to be active on committee. Filed.

From Gillhaus, San Francisco, giving information regarding Section San Francisco, and requesting information. Attended to and filed.

From Janke, Indianapolis, giving information regarding local matters, and stating that the S. P. local is in favor of unity. Filed.

From Buffalo, asking for statement of Party plant. Secretary was instructed to reply that N. E. C. has taken action in the matter.

The following letter was received from Eugene V. Debs.

"Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 9, 1908.
"Mr. Frank Bohn,
"Nat. Sec'y. S. L. P.,
"New York, N. Y.
"Dear Comrade:

"I have just received a copy of the Daily People of the 7th inst. containing the resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of the S. L. P. on the unity question, and I drop you this line to extend congratulations to your board and to say that the resolutions, in spirit and purport, have my hearty concurrence. No matter what differences there may be they are not of sufficient account to prevent joint nominations and political unity all along the line in the National, State, and Local campaigns this fall. I shall do all I can to have the Socialist Party accept the resolutions of the Socialist Labor Party in the spirit in which they are offered. I am writing National Sec'y Barnes and sending an article to the Appeal to Reason, urging favorable action.

"Earnestly hoping for the successful outcome of this move and for a united and vigorous campaign against the common enemy, I remain,

"Yours Fraternally,
"E. V. Debs."

From Cal. S. E. C., sending resolutions on arrest and extradition of Mexican agitators (members of Mexican Liberal Club) and requesting that N. E. C. take matter in hand and issue call for protest meetings and financial aid. Decided to publish resolutions of Cal. S. E. C. in Party press.

From Hartford, Conn.; Paterson, N. J.; Cambridge, Mass.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Newport News, Va.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Mass. S. E. C.; Plainfield; Somerville, N. J. and Tacoma, Wash., regarding election of officers. Filed.

In view of the early approach of the National Convention, it was moved by Orange, seconded by Hammer, "That a committee of two be elected to act in conjunction with the National Secretary to consider time and place for holding National Convention. Motion carried. Hanlon and Lechner were elected to act on such committee.

The National Secretary then read the financial report for the past four weeks as follows:

Week ending				
Jan. 4	Receipts	$31.31	Expenses	$52.46
" 11	"	18.38	"	60.84
" 18	"	71.75	"	29.89
" 25	"	55.00	"	30.00

Meeting then adjourned.

Max Rosenberg, Sec'y.

MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.

Meeting of the committee was held Wednesday, January 22nd, at 1165 Tremont street, Boston; Bohmbach in the chair. Present: Mortensen, Houtenbrink, and Sweeney.

Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read.

Secretary Houtenbrink reported sending out financial reports to sections and members-at-large for quarter ending December 1907; also notification of the election of John Sweeney as secretary-treasurer for ensuing term.

Adjournment followed.

Delegates to the 1908 S. E. C. were called to order.

William Duffy was elected temporary chairman.

Credentials of delegates were accepted from Section Somerville, G. Liddberg and N. P. Starnfelt.

Section Boston: W. Duffy, P. Mulligan, F. Houtenbrink, and H. C. Hess.

Duffy was elected chairman.

Communications: From Sections Worcester and Holyoke, campaign lists and monies and financial reports.

From Section Somerville, election of officers, financial report, and request for A. E. Reimer to speak at a public meeting.

From Section Lynn, stating that C. Sarmarco and J. Mayrello were elected delegates to S. E. C.

From T. F. Brennan, of Salem, as to the N. E. C. delegates report.

Bill of N. E. C. delegate to January session, $21.65, ordered paid.

Election of committees deferred until Lynn delegates be prisent.

A. E. Reimer spoke at length on proceedings of the N. E. C. held January 5 to 8 in New York city.

Voted to request members to attend Section Boston headquarters, 1165 Tremont street Sunday afternoon, February 2, at two o'clock when the National Executive Committeeman will render a full report.

John Sweeney, Secretary.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Regular meeting of the New Jersey S. E. C., held on January 12th, at 184 Main street, Paterson. Delegates present: Herrschaft, Ball, Landgraff, Lessig, Butterworth. Chairman, Geo. P. Herrschaft.

Credentials from Essex county member, Abe Tinfovitz, seated.

Correspondence:—Vote on N. E. C. member:

S. Hudson, Branch I.—For Eck, 4; against, 1. S. Hudson, Branch II.—For Eck, 7; against 0. Passaic—For Eck, 14; against 0. Hoboken—For Eck, 8; against 0. J. Johnson, Member at Large—For Eck, 1. Total, 34—1.

Correspondence:—From Eck, regards Section work. From California S. E. C., received. Financial Report from Branch II., S. Hudson. From Frank Bohn, wanting information of work done for S. E. C. by F. Young as State organizer.

Committee reports:—Herrschaft reported on disbanded North Hudson section; report received.

Delegates' reports:—Essex reported hall engaged for State convention, on February 22. Passaic had taken up the Kircher plan of selling the Sue books; reports received.

Financial Secretary reported receipts, $6; cash on hand, $39; Stamps, 48. Secretary complained about sections not remitting for International Congress Assessment Stamps; sections requested to settle as soon as possible.

John C. Butterworth, Secretary.

TO SECTIONS IN NEW YORK STATE.

In accordance with circular letter sent the sections a few days ago, Edmund Moonelis, Secretary Correspondence Bureau, will make a short trip through New York State, visiting sections named below, on days set opposite each, to discuss matters in connection with the coming campaign. His dates are

Auburn—Friday, Jan. 31.
Buffalo—Saturday, Feb. 1.
Jamestown—Monday, Feb. 3.

Besides this, Boris Reinstein, member of the N. E. C. from New York, will make two stops on his return home to Buffalo from New York City, taking up the same matter with sections he visits as above, besides reporting proceedings of last N. E. C. session held in New York City Jan. 5th to 8th. His dates are:

Albany-Troy-Schenectady (meeting at Troy)—Wednesday, Jan. 29.
Rochester—Thursday, Jan. 30.

Sections will therefore please call meetings for this purpose.

Fred A. Olpp, Sec'y,
N. Y. S. E. C., S. L. P.

MILWAUKEE, ATTENTION!

Two large mass meetings will be held in Milwaukee under the auspices of Local 123, Industrial Workers of the World.

The first meeting will take place on SUNDAY, February 2, 2:30 p. m., at Reik's Hall, 362 Grove street, corner Walker. Speakers, Vincent St. John and Wm. Trautmann.

The second meeting will be held on SUNDAY, February 9, 2:30 p. m., at Bohemian Turner Hall, corner Twelfth and Vine streets. Vincent St. John will speak on "The Industrial Panic and Its Solution."

Admission free. All readers of this paper are requested to attend.

Secretary.

SOMERVILLE, MASS., LECTURE.

A public lecture will be given under the auspices of Section Somerville, Socialist Labor Party, on SUNDAY, February 2, at 7:30 p. m., in Independent Hall, Hill's Building, Union Square.

Speaker, A. E. Reimer of Boston.

Admission free.

CHICAGO S. L. P. SPEAKERS' CLUB

The Speakers' Club of Section Cook County, S. L. P., hold very interesting discussion meetings every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Friedman's Hall, south-east corner of Grand avenue and Western avenue. The object of these meetings is mainly to develop men in the ranks who shall be capable of preaching the doctrines of the S. L. P to the working class, besides the educational value they have for all who participate and attend the discussions. We invite all readers of The People and sympathizers to attend and bring their friends. Free discussion and free admission. The subjects to be discussed, commencing with January 26, are, "As to Politics"—"Social Effect of Machinery"—"Socialism"—"Structure of the New Society"—"Industrial versus Craft Unionism"—"Materialist Conception of History"—"Reform or Revolution"; one subject for every Sunday.

Organizer.

ST. LOUIS, MO., NOTICE.

To the members and to readers of the Daily and Weekly People, Section St. Louis, Socialist Labor Party, will give a Dance and Bazaar at Grunz's Hall, 1500 South 3rd street, S.-E. corner 3rd and Barry streets, on SATURDAY evening, February 1st.

Those wishing to donate presents for the bazaar, please send them to Albert Kaucher, 1318 So. 7th street, St. Louis, Mo.

SECTION BOSTON'S OFFICER.

At the regular meeting of Section Boston, S. L. P., the following officers were elected for 1908:

Organizer, Arthur E. Reimer, 593 9th st., South Boston. Treasurer, George Nelson. Literary Agent, Frank Bohmbach. Recording Secretary, Thomas Maher.

PHILADELPHIA I. W. W. LECTURES.

Sunday, Feb. 2—J. Whitehead. Subject, The Textile Workers.

Sunday, Feb. 9—L. Katz. Subject, The Means and the End.

Sunday, Feb. 16—B. H. Williams. Subject, Unionism.

Sunday, Feb. 23—J. J. McKelvey. Subject, The I. W. W.

Meeting place, Lewar's Hall, S.-E.

DETROIT LECTURE.

The first of a series of lectures arranged by Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, will take place on SUNDAY, Feb. 2, 3 p. m. Wm. E. Bohn of the Michigan University will speak on "Evolution and Prophecy."

All members and readers of this paper are invited to attend.

OPERATING FUND.

Our friends working in the Canal Zone came to the rescue of this fund the past week with donations that altogether totaled $39.00. Other contributions brought the amount up to $56.25 for the week. Comrades who find it utterly impossible to aid in the work of getting subscriptions should bear this fund in mind and help in that way.

H. Cody, Panama	$5.00
J. Mahoney, "	3.00
J. Hassett, " "	1.00
L. Warjii, "	1.00
C. Kohler, "	1.00
J. Brennan, "	2.00
H. Burger, "	2.00
Van Taylor, "	1.00
A. Dallow, "	1.00
J. Wold, "	2.00
H. Lake, "	1.00
J. J. Bartlett, "	1.00
J. H. Johnson, "	1.00
J. R. Sweeney, "	2.00
R. Smith, "	.50
L. Manonni, "	1.00
A. H. Sweeney, "	1.00
J. Calizo, "	1.00
C. Perry, "	1.00
E. Dupless, "	1.00
J. Heenan, "	1.00
E. Felis, "	1.00
W. Caulkins, "	2.50
"Come Again," "	5.00
J. Kenny, Andover, Mass.	1.00
E. Gardner, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
J. J. Meighan, Coytesville, N. J.	1.00
J. Eck, Hoboken, N. J.	2.00
"S. M.," ex-member 16th A. D., N. Y.	3.00
G. Lidberg, Minneapolis	.75
A. C. Witz, Barston, Cal.	2.00
E. Ginther, San Francisco	.50
A. Enos, Eureka, Cal.	6.00
Total	$56.25
Previously acknowledged	1,649.14
Grand Total	$1,705.39

SINKING FUND.

Comrade Fred Miller, Boston, Mass., donates a loan of Five Dollars made to Literature Fund.

WORKERS' MISERY INCREASES.

(Continued from page 4.)

Chicago those who attempted by parading to call attention to their condition were dispersed by being unmercifully clubbed by the police.

This is the condition that confronts the workers and is due to no fault of theirs. The products of the forests, fields and mines are large, so large that foreign markets must be found for the "surplus," and yet thousands of those who produced this very "surplus" will perish with hunger and cold. At such a a time the fact becomes most glaring that the modern capitalist system has become the greatest possible curse to the workers when, by producing "too much" of everything, they are in the worst possible condition. The capitalist system, responsible for it all, stands aghast at the work of its own creation and having only for answer to the demand for bread the policeman's club. On with the propaganda that must precede the overthrow of the damnable system.

CALL TO THE OLD GUARD

TO LEAD THE WAY AND SHOW THE YOUNGER COMRADES HOW TO PUSH THE PROPAGANDA.

For the week ending Friday January 24th, we received 115 to The Weekly People, and 33 mail subs to The Daily People, a total of 148, which is far from the 500 subscriptions a week which we are after and determined to get. Those sending five or more were: G. J. Sherwood, St. Paul, Minn., 8; H. Cody, Canal Zone, 6; F. Brown, Cleveland, 6; J. White, Waterbury, Conn., 5.

Prepaid cards sold: Salt Lake, $12.00; Tacoma, $7.50; St. Paul, $5.00; Yonkers, N. Y., $4.00; Cleveland, $3.00.

Some of the Massachusetts comrades are displaying commendable activity in the work of propaganda. Comrade M. J. Quirk, of Saugus, sends four six-months subs and $1.50 for Labor News. He writes that this is his start on The Weekly People sub per month plan. Comrade Richardson, of Lynn, sends one and says: "I am after more." Comrade Enger, of Ashland, sends two subs; the Boston Press Committee 7; Comrade Murphy, of Lynn, sends one, so does comrade Mortenson, of West Somerville.

B. P. Anderson, Minneapolis, in renewing says he finds The Weekly People a most interesting paper which he should like to see many more intelligent workingmen reading; hope he will help in the work.

Section San Antonio, Texas, sends subs and reports healthy growth in the Section, and that in the near future they expect to organize a Jewish branch.

In looking over the records we notice that some of the old-time sub-getters are inactive and we would call upon them to lead the way and show the young fellows how to go about the work that will bring in 500 subs a week. Last week not even one twentieth of the Party members were active—just think of it, that at such an epochal time as this, over nineteen twentieths of the S. L. P. men did nothing in the way of propaganda. It is high time that the Old Guard get together and show how to get the subscribers.

Labor News sales were light again last week: San Francisco, $11.00; Colo. S. E. C., $8.62; Spokane, $6.20; Denver, $4.60; Philadelphia, $3.00; Montreal, $2.10; Louisville, Ky., $1.60; Freeman, Wash., $1.00; and the same amount to Trenton and Cleveland.

We have started work on a new series of propaganda leaflets. They are smaller, neater and more convenient than the old style. No. 1 of the series is ready. The price is $1 per thousand, fifty cents for 500. Send us on an order for some.

NEW SUE STORY SOON.

A new Sue story: "The Poinard's Hilt," is soon to appear in the columns of The Daily People. The story is one of intense interest dealing with the beginnings of feudalism in France. The sixth of Sue's absorbing historical series, this tale is one that you will not wish to miss; so go tready for it now by sending a dollar for a three months' subscription to The Daily People.

- Capitalism Is Cannibalism -
Socialism our only Salvation.
Workingmen of ALL Countries UNITE. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!
READ THE WEEKLY PEOPLE
and learn what International Socialism means.
Learn the difference between Industrial Unionism and Organized Scabbery.
Help to free yourselves from the Shackles of Wage-Slavery.
Fall in line, join hands with those who are waging battle in the noblest war of the ages.
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6 Months for 50c. or 1 Year for $1.
Address Agent, J. A. BARRON
DICKSON CITY, PA.
1,000 of the above Stickers, size 3 x 3, in deep red border, with name of Agent or Section printed in place of mine, sent prepaid for $1.75 : : : : : : : : : :
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Get busy. Make the WEEKLY PEOPLE known from land's end to land's end : : : : : :
Address orders to
J. A. BARRON,
DICKSON CITY, PA.

Special Offer
Price of FLASH-LIGHTS Reduced from 25 Cents to 10 Cents.
Here is an opportunity for you to do a little propaganda work among Socialists and even those not Socialists may be interested in this proposition:—
For one month only, from JANUARY 16th to FEBRUARY 16th, we offer the
FLASH-LIGHTS
. . . of the . . .
AMSTERDAM CONGRESS
. . . for . . .
10 CENTS A COPY.
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This work is the Best Review Extant of the International Socialist Movement.
No student of events should be without this Volume. It will aid him in understanding what otherwise might seem confusing. As it is unlikely that the work will be reprinted, get a copy now.
167 Pages - - 10 cents.
N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO.
28 City Hall Place,
New York.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.

The newly elected membes for the Michigan State Executive Committee are: Adolph Ahlers, state secretary; Geo. Hasseler, recording secretary; Peter Friesema, treasurer; and Gus. Tuchelski, Wm. Hoag, Logan Cunningham, and Anthony Louwett.

CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear little Comrades:—

Do remember last week's lesson on Famous Birthdays. Do please, try to do something on that subject. If you can't make a long list, why, select some one name and write a short story about that man or woman. There must be a few. Do remember that the March Festival will soon be here and that on February twelfth the Brooklynites will have a bazaar. Do what you can as well as you can and as early as you can.

Do remember to come to the meeting of the Young Socialist Club to-day and bring your friends.

Lovingly,
AUNT ANNETTA.

ANOTHER WIDE-AWAKE YOUNG COMRADE.

Dear Comrades:—

I am very interested in the Socialist movement. The present conditions have forced me to do so.

I have seen very queer things in Richmond. Two of our comrades have been arrested for preaching the truth to the working class, and absolutely nothing but the truth.

I was the first to bring the news to the home people. My father was standing right by them when they were arrested, and he was very busy trying to get them out of the station house.

We hope Comrades Young and Campbell will come out victorious. The capitalist judges are trying hard to convict them. Our comrades are holding on to the Right of Free Speech, so that they may teach Socialism all over the United States, and I wish them success.

About three hundred persons shouted "Hurrah for the Socialists."

I shall close as it is all I can tell this time.

Caroline Buttgen.
502 E. Marshall st., Richmond, Va.

[Hurrah for the young Socialists of Virginia! That's all we need, every child now, learn the truths about Socialism, and we won't have many years to wait for the Socialist Commonwealth.]

THE ASS AND THE THISTLES.

Little Evelyn was just recovering from the measles. The doctor had forbidden her any reading, as the eyes are usually weakened by the disease.

Evelyn was very fond of fables. She had read her "Aesop's" from cover to cover.

"I'm tired of reading the same stories, so won't you please, uncle, tell me some of your own make?"

Uncle, always willing to please his little niece, took up "Aesop's" and opened to the story of "The Ass Eating Thistles."

He read: "An Ass, laden with very choice provisions, which he was carrying in harvest time to the fields for his master, stopped to eat a large and strong thistle which grew by the roadside."

"Oh, I have read that story, uncle, before, so many times, too," pleaded Evelyn; "can't you make one up, please do."

Uncle pretended to read on:

"A laborer who had stopped to rest, saw the Ass and began making fun of the creature.

"'You fool,' he said, 'here you are loaded down with the finest of food and drink and yet you stop to feed on thistles. Why don't you help yourself to the good things upon your back?'

"'Haw! Haw!' brayed the Ass. 'Will you listen to who's talking? Will you just listen to him! People who live in glass houses should never throw stones.'

And he brayed so loud that the traveler who had fallen asleep under a nearby tree awoke with a start.

Seeing his fellow man look rather sheepish, he inquired about the matter. The laborer told the story and added he could hardly see the comparison between him and the beast.

"'Well,' said the traveler, who seemed to be a rather studious man, 'pardon me for being personal, but I should like to know what you had for your lunch this noon?'

"'Indeed, ' had no lunch since I left home, for I am looking for a job. I am what the twentieth century has called "a tramp," looking for a job no matter how big or little, so that I may earn something to send home to my wife and little ones.

"'At night I slept in the straw stacks or sheds and once a day I buy or beg some food so that I have strength to travel all day. I am not a tramp. I am a working man "laid off" for a while. But my little ones must eat, be sheltered and clothed and if their father has no work where will they get these necessities? The stomach's longest vacation is but one day. My little ones, oh, my babies!'

"'And yet you do not understand how the ass can compare himself to you? Well, I agree with you there is not much comparison between the two. He has a master who owns his carcass, his body. That he must keep whether he has work or not. He must feed and shelter him whether there is work for him or not. Being a beast, thistles are not bad food, in fact, better than the delicacies which he carried upon his back would be for him. He always has a master who must feed him if he wishes to continue to own him.

"'But you, my friend, must look for a new master every time you finish work, and when you find one he gives you no more for your day's work than it takes to feed, clothe and shelter you for that day. If he has no work he does not need you and knowing that there are thousands more looking for jobs he does not need to keep you and feed you during intervals, for he will have all the job hunters he wants to choose from when that time comes.'

"There was a moment's pause.

"'I see by your union button you are a railroad worker,' continued the studious traveler. 'It is you who by the control of transportation bring the wealth of products from one portion of the earth to the other—necessities and luxuries alike. Why do you and your thousands of brothers want for bread when there are tons of it, and cake, too, wasted every day? Why do you, human beasts of burden, want when there is plenty all around you? Why do you who produce all the grand things in life want for the most meagre portion to keep you alive?'

"The student held before the poor man a glass. It was the Mirror of Imagination. In it he beheld himself beside the Ass, burdened with the produce of the world. It was fastened around his body with straps marked 'Private Ownership of the Means of Life.'

"On his head was a halter, each part marked 'Superstition,' 'Contentedness,' 'Ignorance,' 'Cowardice,' Self-protection,' 'Environment,' 'Ideals.' In his mouth was the bit of 'hunger.'

"He turned the mirror and the ex-laborer saw himself pale and exhausted, lying on the ground dying of hunger and thirst, still with the burden of the world's produce on his back. Near him was his old friend the Donkey with a motto clear across him, 'I am an ASS. What are YOU?'

"A turn of the glass and our friend recognized himself among millions of workingmen and women, packed into solid ranks, with the Red Flag of Socialism in one hand, and the shield with the emblem of the I. W. W. in the other. Across their foreheads, like a crown, were the words 'WE ARE MEN AND WOMEN!'"

Uncle stopped.

Little Evelyn looked thoughtfully at him a moment and said: "Uncle, when I grow big, I will make it my business to hold the Mirror of Imagination before the workers."